

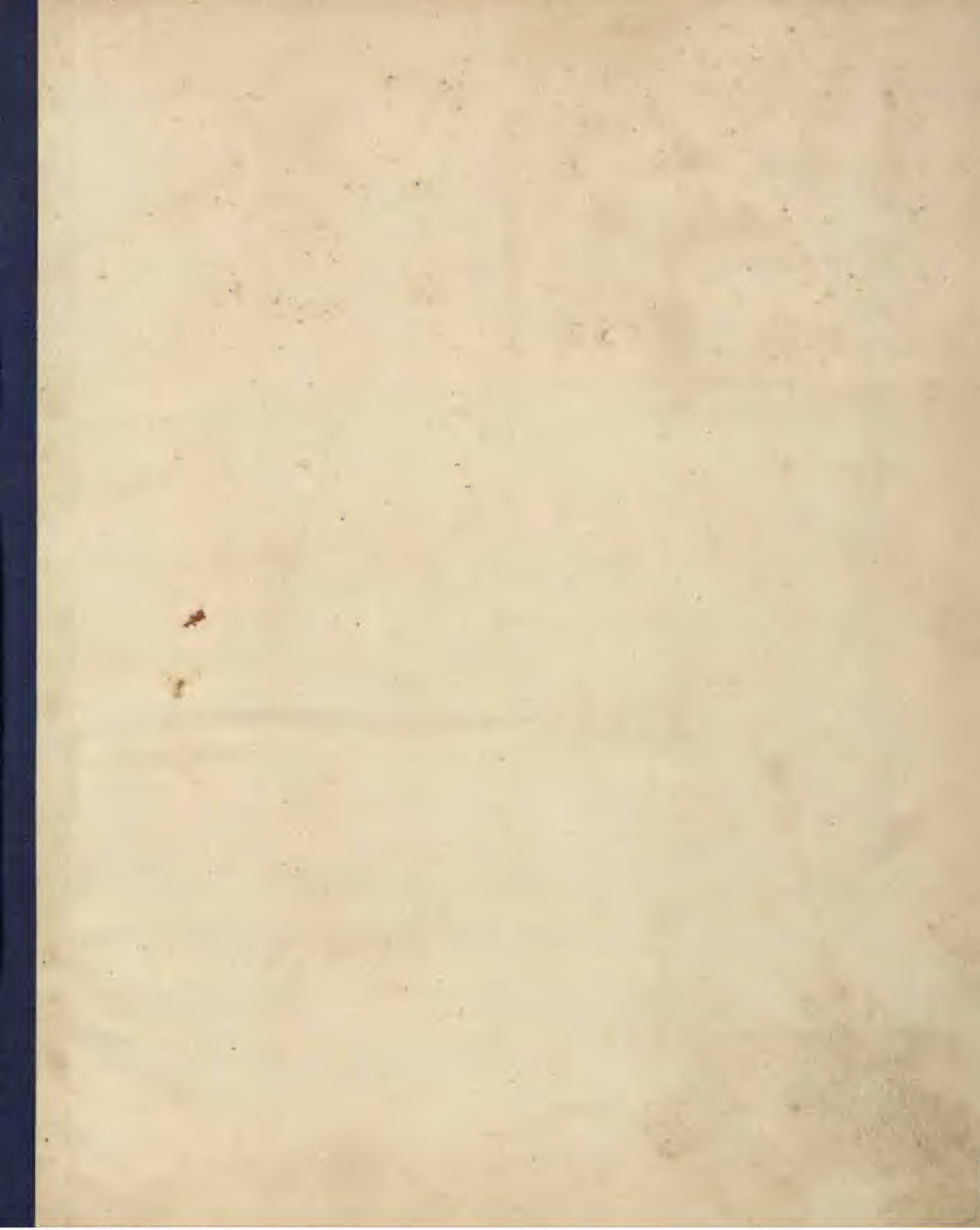
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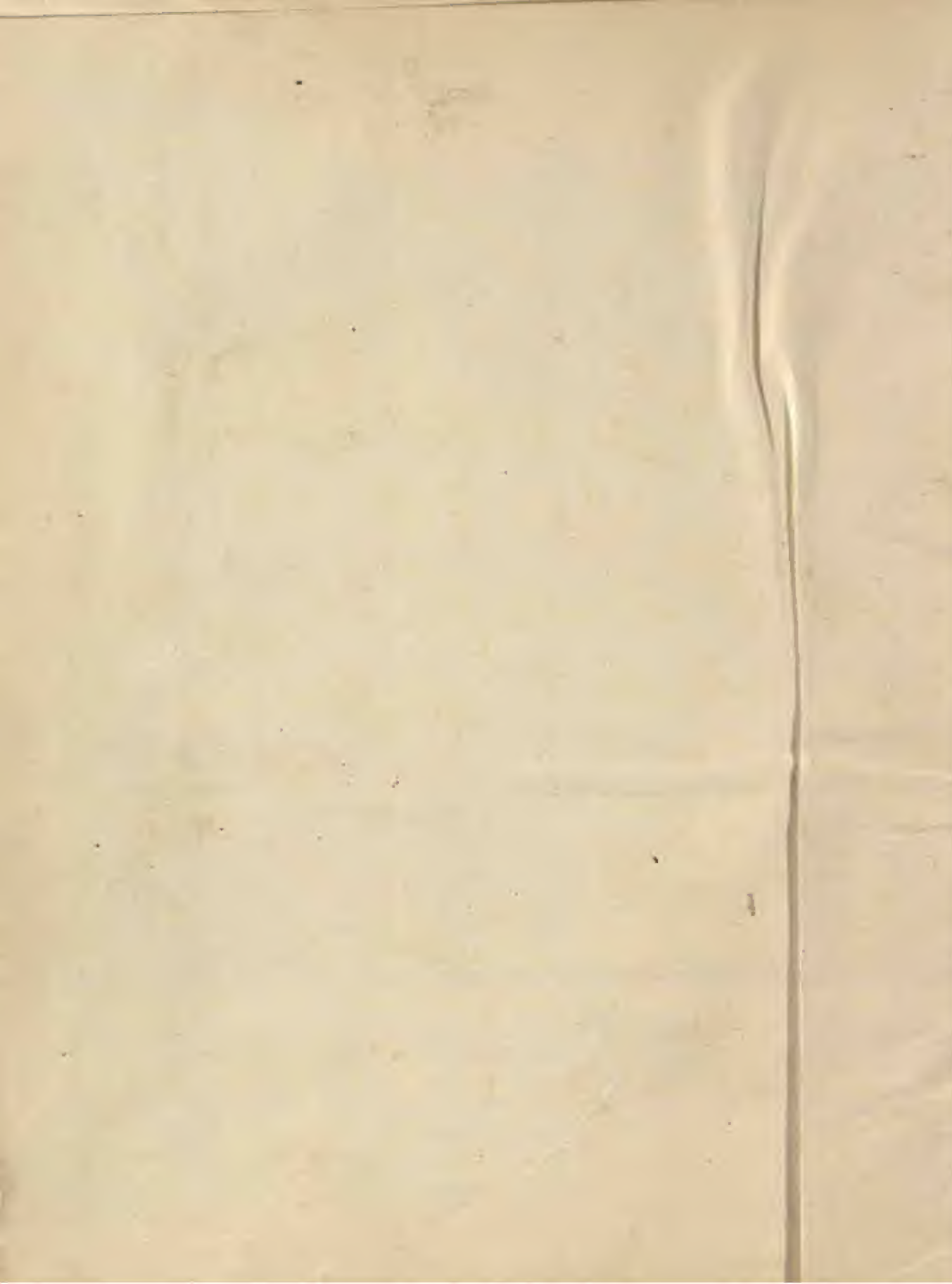
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A. K. COOMARASWAMY
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ATHENA AND HEPHAISTOS*

‘ARTIFEX OPERATUR PER SUUM INTELLECTUM’. ST TH. AQUINAS, ‘SUM. THEOL’. I. 14, 8.

In the production of anything made by art, or the exercise of any art, two faculties, respectively imaginative and operative, free and servile, are simultaneously involved; the former consisting in the conception of some idea in an imitable form, the latter in the imitation (mimesis) of this invisible model (paradeigma)¹ in some material, which is thus in-formed. Imitation, the distinctive character of all the arts, is accordingly two-fold, on the one hand the work of intellect (nous) and on the other of the hands (cheir).² These two aspects of the creative activity correspond to the “two in us”, viz. our spiritual or intellectual

*This is the last article written by Dr. Coomaraswamy.

1. An imitation,—“for if it did not effect that, it [painting] would be held to be an idle playing with colours” (Philostratus, ‘Vit. Ap.’ 2. 22.). Of an invisible model,—cf. Plato, ‘Timaeus’ 51 E, 92, Rep. 494 C, 510 D, E, 596 B, ‘Laws’ 931 A; Plotinus, ‘Enneads’ 5. 9. 11. “It is in imitation (anukrīl) of divine forms that any human form is invented here...[for instance] this divine harp, of which the human harp is an imitation” (‘Āitareya Brāhmaṇa’ 6. 27, ‘Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka’ 8. 9). The painter is to “put down on the wall what has been seen in contemplation” (‘ tad dhyātam,’ Someśvara, ‘Abhilāṣitārthacintāmaṇi’ : 1. 3. 155).

Plato, of course, by “imitation” means an iconography of things unseen, and deprecates the making of “copies of copies,” or realism in the modern sense of the word. It is in the same way only that Apollonius, in Philostratus, ‘Vit. Ap.’ 6. 19, calls “imagination (phantasia) a wiser artist (demiourgos) than imitation,” because the work of the creative artist depends upon “the imagination even of what has not been seen,”—if, indeed, it is not better to make “no images of Gods at all...inasmuch as the intuitive mind (gnome) can draft and represent (anagrapheī...kai anatypountai) better than any artist”. This last is what would be called in India a purely “mental” (‘manasā’) or “subtle” (‘sūkṣma’) worship.

2. Philostratus, ‘Vit. Ap.’ 2. 22. cf. ‘Śatapatha Br. 3. 2. 4. 11 : “Were it not for intellect, the word would babble incoherently,” and ‘Kauṣītaki Up.’ 3. 6. 7 : “When intellect is their rider then all things are effected by the two hands...for indeed, without the cooperation of intellect, the two hands would make nothing intelligible,” i. e., would not know what they were doing.

Self and sensitive psycho-physical Ego, working together (synergoi). The integration of the work of art will depend upon the extent to which the Ego is able and willing to serve the Self, or if the patron and the workman are two different persons, upon the measure of their mutual understanding.

The nature of the two faculties, which are respectively the formal and efficient causes in the production of works of art is clearly stated in Philo's account of the building of the Tabernacle "the construction of which was clearly set forth to Moses on the Mount by divine pronouncements. He saw with the soul's eye the immaterial forms (*ideai*) of the material things that were to be made, and these forms were to be reproduced as sensible imitations, as it were, of the archetypal graph and intelligible patterns...So the type of the pattern was secretly impressed upon the mind of the Prophet as a thing secretly painted and moulded in invisible forms without material ; and then the finished work was wrought after that type by the artist's imposition of those impressions on the severally appropriate material substances" ; ¹ and in more general terms by St Bonaventura, who points out that "the work of art proceeds from the artist according to a model existing in the mind ; which model the artist discovers (*excogitat* = *cintayati*) before he produces, and then he produces as he has predetermined. Moreover, the artist produces the external work in the closest possible likeness of the interior model".²

The work of art is, then, a product at once of wisdom and method, or reason and art (*sophia* or *logos*, and *techne*).³ It may be noted here that the primary references of the words 'sophia' and 'episteme', cf. Hebrew 'hochmā' and Sanskrit 'māyā',⁴ are to the artist's "cunning" or "science", from which the sense of "wisdom" develops ; and that while "techne" can often be rendered by "art" as opposed to "artless labour"

1. Philo, 'Moses', 2. 74.-76.

2. St Bonaventura, 'De red. artium ad theologiam,' 12.

3. 'Homerio Hymns' 4. 483, in connection with music. Otherwise expressed, in the case of metalwork, it is by art and reason (*he techne kai ho logos*) that the material causes, fire and steel, etc., are dominated (Plutarch, 'Mor.' 436. A. B). Cf. references in notes 2, p. 1 and 1, p. 4.

4. Māyā, "von 'mā' = 'man,' vgl. 'metis'...goettliche Kunst" (Grassmann, 'Woerterbuch zum Rigveda') ; cf. Liddell and Scott, s. vv. 'mao' and 'metis'.

(*atechnos* tribe)¹ this distinction is the same as that of mere "industry" (tribe) from "method" (*methodos*)². It amounts to the same thing to say that in matters of handicraft or manufacture (*cheirotechnike*) there is one part more allied to science (*episteme*), and another less, and that "without enumeration, measurement, and weighing, the arts (*technai*) would be relatively worthless...and a matter of mere practice and toil";³ or to distinguish art (*techne*) and mere experience (*empeiria*) from science (*episteme*), though the artist needs both.⁴ All these dicta provide a background for the mediaeval: '*Ars sine scientia nihil*' and '*Scientia reddit opus pulchrum*'.

We recognize that for anything to be "well and truly made" the cooperation of the hands as efficient cause and intellect as formal cause is indispensable. The purpose of the present article is to call the attention to the expression of this mythologically in terms of the relation of Athena to Hephaistos, the former being the Goddess of Wisdom who sprang from the head of her father Zeus, and the latter the Titan smith whose wonderful works are produced with the help of Athena as co-worker (*synteknos*)⁵. Athena and Hephaistos "share a common nature, being born of the same father" and live together in a common shrine (*hieron*) or as it were in one and the same house⁶: she is "the mind of God" ('*he theou noesis*', or '*nous*'), and called also Theonoe, and he "the noble scion of light"⁷. From them all men derive their knowledge of

1. Plato, '*Phaedrus*' 263 E, cf. 270 B.

2. Aristotle, '*Soph. Elench*'. 3. 18.

3. Plato, '*Philebus*' 55 D—56 A.

4. Plato, '*Rep.*' 422 C, '*Ion*' 532 C. 536 C.

5. Plato, '*Statesman*' 274 C, for an example of their cooperation cf. Homer, '*Cypria*' 5.

6. Plato, '*Critias*' 109 C, 112 B.

7. Plato, '*Cratylus*' 407 B. For Theonoe as a type cf. Euripides, '*Helen*,' *passim*, e. g. 530, where she "knows all things truly." Hephaistos is more properly to be connected with '*Aph*' to kindle; *fire* being '*phlox Hephalistoio*'. *Iliad* 17. 88. Characteristic epithets of Hephaistos are '*klytometis*', "famed for his art", '*klytotechnes*' "famed for his craft," and '*klyto ergos*', "famed for his work". Athena is '*chari-ergos*', "she who—by her wisdom, or science—gives the work its grace or beauty" ('*Anth. Pal.*' 6. 206),—here is the "formal cause", or "exemplary cause", or "art in the artist" by which he works. "Noble" (*gennaïos*), characterising Hephaistos may refer to the common paternity of Hephaistos and Athena ('*Critias*' 109 C), but may rather mean "faithful", by no means implying that his function is not servile, cf. Euripides, '*Helen*' 729, 1511, where '*gennaïos*' goes with '*deoulos*', and implies a freedom only of the mind (*nous*), in the sense of Philo's '*Quod omnis probus liber sit*'; cf. Aeschylus, '*Prometheus*' 45, where Hephaistos works for Zeus at a task that he "hates".

the arts, either directly or indirectly : "Hephaistos, famous for his art (klytometis),¹ aided by Athena of the gleaming eyes, taught glorious works to men on earth"²; or it was Prometheus who stole from them "immanent artistic wisdom (entechnon sophian) and fire", and gave them to men "as a divine portion (moira)"³.

Here the words 'entechnos' and 'moira' imply that the human "artist in possession of his art" (entechnos demiourgos)⁴ is such by participation (methexis, metalepsis) in the Master Architect's creative power. Athena and Hephaistos, in fact, "agreeing in their love of wisdom and of craftsmanship (philosophia and philotechnia), both together chose this land of ours as being naturally fitted to be the home of virtue and wisdom, and therein they planted as native to the soil good men, and set in their minds the structure of the art of government"⁵. All this means that the human artist—say, the blacksmith at his forge—in possession of his art has within him both a wisdom and a method, a science and a skill; and that as a whole man, responsible for both operations, free and servile, and capable alike of imagination and of execution, is of the nature of

1. For metis = 'mâyâ' see note 4, p. 2. Cf. 'Iliad' 10. 10 'syn metin... tektagaito' and Pindar, 'Olympian Odes' 9. 78 where 'technai = 'mâyâbhih'. Metis as a person is the first wife of Zeus, reborn from his head as Athena (Hesiod 'Th.' 886); the story implying that "the chief god has Wisdom always within him" (H. J. Rose, 'Greek Mythology,' p. 50); 'metista' (for 'metietes') as an epic epithet of Zeus corresponding to Sanskrit 'mâyin'; so that "If you would create an image of Zeus you must intuit, or conceive ('ennoein = 'expogitare', Skr. 'dhyai') encampments, art (metin), and the artistic skills (technai), and how she flowered forth from Zeus himself" (Philostratus, 'Vit. Ap.' 6. 19). Athena is a "worker" ('ergane', Sophocles, fr. 724), as in Latin "operosa Minerva" with Vulcan; and it may be observed that 'energeia' = 'ousia' and is contrasted with 'hyle' (Aristotle, 'Met.' 7. 2. 1, and 6), as 'logos' and 'techné' are contrasted with the material they control (Plutarch, 'Mor.' 486 A, B). Just as, also, for St Th. Aquinas, the artist works 'per verbum in intellectu conceptum', 'Sum. Theol.' 1. 45, 6.

2. 'Homeric Hymns' 20; Plato, 'Critias' 109 C, D.

3. Plato, 'Protagoras' 321 D—323 A.

4. Plato, 'Laws' 808 C; cf. 'Phaedrus' 277 E, where 'to entechnon kai me' are distinguished according to an author's knowledge or ignorance of that of which he treats, and 'Symposium' 209 A, distinguishing "inventive" (heuristikoi) from other artists. For Aristotle, 'Rhet.' 1. 1. 11. and 1. 2. 2, the distinction is that of one whose work is done according to "the laws of art" (entechnos methodos) from one who is not such an expert (atechnos). With 'entechnos' cf. 'enitheos, energeia', 'ennoia', "inwit", etc.

5. 'Critias' 109 C, D. For the art of government (politiké) as tantamount to the art in general see 'Rep'. 342,—every art (techné) being a ruler of and stronger than that of which it is an art and for the sake of which it operates.

Athena and Hephaistos both : it is Athena who inspires what Hephaistos effects. So we have Phereclus "whose hands were knowing (epistato) to fashion all manner of wondrous works (daidala), because Athena loved him"¹, and the carpenter who is called "a master of wisdom as to form, by the promptings of Athena"². In this relationship Athena's function, in that she is the source of the formal cause or pattern of the work to be done, is essentially authoritative and paternal rather than receptive or feminine, we need not be surprised to find that the artist's "inspiration" (empnoia, empneusis), or "the divine power (dynamis=śakti) that moves him," is referred to often as "the God", the immanent "Daimon", or Eros, that is to say the Spirit to whom the very word "inspiration" points³.

On the other hand when the servile operation alone is performed by the merely "productive mechanic" (banausikos) who does not understand what he is doing, however industrious he may be, then his service becomes a matter of only "unskilled labour" (atechnos tribe)⁴ and he is reduced to the condition of the mere slave who earns money for a master⁵, or mere "hand" (cheirotechnes) rather than an architect or lover of wisdom⁶. This is precisely the position of the modern chain-belt

1. 'Iliad' 5. 61. Hardly to be distinguished from the Sophia of Hephaistos is "the Sophia of Daidalos" (Plato, 'Euthyphro' 11 E); and the like must hold good for Regin, Wayland, and the other great mythical smiths.

2. 'Iliad' 15. 410-411.

3. On inspiration see my 'Figures of Thought or Figures of Speech', 1946, pp. 25-28, and s. v. in 'The Dictionary of the Arts'.

4. Plato, 'Phaedrus' 260 E, cf. 270 B.

5. Xenophon, 'Mem'. 3. 11. 4.

6. Aristotle, 'Met'. 1. 1. 17. ; Xenophon, 'Vect'. 5. 4.

worker, in whom the industrial system whether capitalistic or totalitarian, has divided Athena from Hephaistos.¹

1. All this is, of course, perfectly well known. "Validation of success in terms of externals has become the mark of our civilization. In such a value-system human relations take on the values of the salesman...Under such conditions man everywhere becomes nasty, brutish, and cruel...Unless Western man is able to release himself from the degrading tyranny of his enslavement to the religion of economics he is as certainly doomed to self destruction as all the portents indicate that he is" (M. E. Ashley Montagu in 'School and Society', vii. 65, no. 1636, 1947). "Today, under the centralized economic order, we appear to be descending below the level of the beast, hating, exploiting and destroying each other on a world scale, and reducing the average man to a standardised automaton incapable of thinking and acting for himself" (Bharatan Kumarappa, 'Capitalism, Socialism, or Villagism?' 1946, p. 194). There are two positions: that of the tradesman, that "however much...individuals suffer, progression in line with the manufacturing enterprise of civilization must be allowed free course" (Sir George Watt, in 'Indian Art at Delhi,' 1912), and that of the humanist, that "however much an economic system may succeed in bringing riches it will be unstable and prove a failure if in the process it causes human suffering, or in any way hinders people from a full life" (Bharatan Kumarappa, *ibid.* p. 112). Let us choose between them.

RENAISSANCE OF INDIAN CULTURE

by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Our problem is not so much one of the rebirth of an Indian culture as it is one of preserving what remains of it. This culture is valid for us not so much because it is Indian as because it is culture. At the same time, its special forms are adapted to a specifically Indian nature and inheritance, and are appropriate to us in the same way that a national costume is appropriate to those who have a right to wear it. We cut a sorry figure in our foreign and hybrid clothes, looking neither like ourselves nor like anyone else on earth. We invite the ridicule of foreign musicians when we play the harmonium. We cannot expect to meet cultured Europeans when we know nothing of Indian culture.

The younger generation of go-getters that comes to America to study, and that will largely shape the course of Indian social and educational policies in the immediate future is, for the most part, as ignorant of Indian traditions and cultural values as any European might be, and sometimes more so ; and just because of this lack of background cannot grasp the American and European problems that confront it. Freedom is the opportunity to act in accordance with one's own nature. But our leaders are already denatured, quite as much as Lord Macaulay could have wished them to be "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect". Because they have yet to "discover" India, they have not realised that the modern world is no longer an integrated culture, but "an organized barbarism" and a political pandemonium. They have no more the moral courage to "be themselves" without which they can be of little use to themselves or anyone else—than had their predecessors on whom a so-called Western education had been more forcibly imposed in missionary colleges or government-controlled universities.

It will take many a long year yet for Indians to recover their spontaneity. For the present, most of our "educated" men are just as much as Americans dominated by the current catchwords of "equality," "democracy", "progress", and "literacy". In the past, and still today, Indians have earned and deserved much of the contempt of the Europeans whom they have flattered so sincerely by an imitation of all their habits and ways of thinking. We, too, are on our way to become a nation of Shudras, at the same time industrious and ignorant. Notwithstanding that all philosophy refers to the 'whole-man' we seek to become mere 'hands', 'cogs in a wheel', 'copies of copies'—we have learnt from the modern world to despise wisdom and push everything aside to 'leap before we look'.

On the other side of the Indian picture are the great figures of such Indian sociologists as Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa. Both are advocates of forms of human association unfavourable to war, and both are significant as much for the rest of the world as for India, in this age of violence. Unlike the Utopists of the modern West, neither of these men supposes that the ills of the world can be cured by planning or economic means alone, without a change of heart. Both are seeking to restore forms of social organization in which human values shall predominate over those of a "success" evaluated only in terms of money.

In particular, Bharatan Kumarappa's masterly work, 'Capitalism, Socialism, or Villagism ?' is a reasoned argument for decentralization, local self-sufficiency, small-scale manufacture, and the restoration of direct personal relations between the producers and the consumers of the necessities of life ; and that involves the whole of our culture, since it is the natural and proper function of the arts to provide for all the needs of the whole-man, as a physical and metaphysical person at one and the same time.

Again, throughout the ages, India has been a land of profound religious convictions and of equally generous religious tolerance. Here at least, if nowhere else, it is still possible for men to think of their own faith as the natural friend and ally of all others in a common cause. It has been said that in the West, religion is fast becoming an archaic and impossible refuge. But in India it still provides for both the hearts and minds of

men, and gives them an inalienable dignity ; and because of this, the natural connection of religion with sociology and politics has never been broken. There is no such opposition of sacred to profane as is taken for granted in the modern West ; in our experience, culture and religion have been indivisible ; and that, in our inheritance, is what we can least of all afford to abandon.

Indian women, at the present day and in so far as they have not yet been "brought up to date", are our best conservators of Indian culture. And let us not forget that in a country like India, any judgment of standards of culture in terms of statistics of literacy would be ridiculous. Literacy in the modern world of magazines and newspapers is no guarantee of culture whatever, and it is far better not to know how to read than not to know what to read.

At this time there is an immediate and desperate need for the establishment of cultural, and not merely economic and political contacts with the rest of the world. No doubt, the West is very largely to be blamed for its own cultural isolation, which amounts to a very real provincialism, but the blame is also ours, for our students and other representatives abroad are more often engineers, or physicists, or politicians than men of culture,—where they ought to have been both at once, able to contribute something more than their fees to those from whom they come to learn the newest techniques.

When the culture that we now propose to restore was alive, the learned men of foreign countries came from far away to study in India. The measure of our culture is not that of our ability to learn new tricks, but that of what we have to give.

I have been asked : "What is your message to the new India of our dreams ?" This is my answer : "Be your Self. Follow Mahatma Gandhi, Bharatan Kumarappa, D. V. Gundappa, Abul Kalam Azad, Abdul Gaffar Khan, and Śrī Rāmana Mahārṣi. Co-operate with such men as the Earl of Portsmouth, George Bourne, Wilfrid Wellock, Marco Pallis, René Guénon, Jean Giono, and Fernando Nobre". Do not consider the inferior philosophers. "Be not deceived : evil communications corrupt good manners"*

* Address given at the Hindustan Association, Boston, August 15, 1947.

DR. COOMARASWAMY'S TALK AT HIS BOSTON DINNER

I am more than honoured—somewhat, indeed, overcome—by your kindness in being here tonight, by the messages that have been read, and by the presentation of Mr. Bharatha Iyer's Festschrift. I should like to recall the names of four men who might have been present had they been living : Dr. Denman W. Ross, Dr. John Lodge, Dr. Lucien Scherman, and Professor James Woods, to all of whom I am indebted. The formation of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts was almost wholly due to the initiative of Dr. Denman Ross ; Dr. Lodge, who wrote little, will be remembered for his work in Boston and Washington and also perhaps for his aphorism, "From the Stone Age until now, *quelle dégringolade*"; I still hope to complete a work on Reincarnation with which Dr. Scherman charged me not long before his death ; and Professor Woods was one of those teachers who can never be replaced.

More than half of my active life has been spent in Boston. I want to express my gratitude in the first place to the Directors and Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, who have always left me entirely free to carry on research not only in the field of Indian art but at the same time in the wider field of the whole traditional theory of art and of the relation of man to his work, and in the fields of comparative religion and metaphysics to which the problems of iconography are a natural introduction. I am grateful also to the American Oriental Society whose editors, however much they differed from me "by temperament and training", as Professor Norman Brown once said, have always felt that I had a "right to be heard", and have allowed me to be heard. And all this despite the fact that such studies as I have made necessarily led me back to an enunciation of relatively unpopular sociological

doctrines. For, as a student of human manufactures, aware that all making is 'per artem', I could not but see that, as Ruskin said, "Industry without art is brutality", and that men can never be really happy unless they bear an individual responsibility not only for what they do but for the kind and the quality of whatever they make. I could not fail to see that such happiness is for ever denied to the majority under the conditions of making that are imposed upon them by what is euphemistically called "free enterprise", that is to say, under the condition of production for profit rather than for use; and no less denied in those totalitarian forms of society in which the folk is just as much as in a capitalistic regime reduced to the level of a proletariat. Looking at the works of art that are considered worthy of preservation in our Museums, and that were once the common objects of the market place, I could not but realise that a society can only be considered truly civilised when it is possible for every man to earn his living by the very work he would rather be doing than anything else in the world,—a condition that has only been attained in social orders integrated on the basis of vocation, 'svadharma'.

At the same time I should like to emphasize that I have never built up a philosophy of my own or wished to establish a new school of thought. Perhaps the greatest thing I have learned is never to think for myself; I fully agree with André Gide that 'Toutes choses sont dites déjà', and what I have sought is to understand what has been said, while taking no account of the "inferior philosophers". Holding with Heraclitus that the Word is common to all, and that Wisdom is to know the Will of whereby all things are steered, I am convinced with Jeremias that the human cultures in all their apparent diversity are but the dialects of one and the same language of the spirit, that there is a "common universe of discourse" transcending the differences of tongues.

This is my 70th birthday, and my opportunity to say: Farewell. For this is our plan, mine and my wife's, to retire and return to India next year; thinking of this as an 'astam gamana', "going home". There we expect to rejoin our son Rama, who after travelling with Marco Pallis in Sikkim and speaking Tibetan there, is now at the Gurukula Kangri learning Sanskrit and Hindi with the very man, Pandit Vagishvarji,

with whom my wife was studying there twelve years ago. We mean to remain in India, now a free country, for the rest of our lives.

I have not remained untouched by the religious philosophies I have studied and to which I was led by way of the history of art. 'Intellige ut credas !' In my case, at least, understanding has involved belief ; and for me the time has come to exchange the active for a more contemplative way of life in which it would be my hope to experience more immediately, more fully at least a part of the truth of which my understanding has been so far predominantly logical. And so, though I may be here for another year, I ask you also to say "goodbye",—equally in the etymological sense of the word and in that of the Sanskrit 'Svagā' a salutation that expresses the wish "May you come into your own", that is, may I know and become what I am, no longer this man So and so, but the Self that is also the Being of all beings, my Self and your Self.

IN MEMORIAM

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Ex divina pulchritudine esse omnium derivatur

Ananda Coomaraswamy's mind was nourished by two extremely distinct cultures, the cultures of India and of the Occident. We may doubt whether such a duality is always a blessing in terms of peace and happiness, because the abundance of impressions and the tension of contrasts may sometimes be too heavy a burden. But in the case of Ananda Coomaraswamy the tension—which certainly existed in this sensitive soul—was of a productive kind ; it was a challenge under which his own personality developed into depths and heights generally unknown to weak mortals and from which we all have profited who are here assembled to pay homage to a great and dear friend. For through interpreting the East to his Western contemporaries he has helped them to better understand their own West, and through interpreting the West to his Indian compatriots, not only in its greatness, but also in its menace, he has helped them to better understand their own oriental culture.

But merely as an analyst of cultures Ananda Coomaraswamy would not be sufficiently characterized. There are, though not many, but nevertheless a few, who have done the same. Perhaps he could achieve his mastership in analysis only because he was one of the last great polyhistor, or men of universal knowledge, as far as our time still allows such always relative achievement. We know that as a young man he was one of the most promising scientists trained by the University of London, and entrusted with the difficult task of exploring the geology of his native country Ceylon. During all his life nature and its beauty were for him a source of unending inspiration and recreation. In the company of his wife who, as we all know, followed him not only along the

paths of Nature, but also along the paths of the Spirit, he liked to show to his friends the plants he cultivated at his home.

But he soon extended his search into nature over into the search for the creative forces which work in the appearances of the Mind, though he never separated the two, for there always was a grain of pantheism in Ananda Coomaraswamy as in all great mystics. In one of his addresses he calls himself an orientalist who is "in fact almost as much a Platonist as a Mediaevalist". But what did it mean for him to be an orientalist? It meant for him to become one of the greatest experts of Oriental art, not only Indian, but Arabic, Persian, Chinese, and Japanese as well. It meant being a philosophical as well as a philological knower of the great sources of Indian religious insight, a philosopher not in the sense of a mere historian of ideas, but in the true sense of an Indian "Guru", a "destroyer of darkness", who understands how to keep the torch of light burning so that it can be carried unhurt from ancient to ever new generations, and a philologist not in the sense of an expert in words, or a literary critic, but of an expert in meanings, capable of following the significance of a term through the ancient languages of the East and the West up into our great modern literatures. Thus the Platonist and Mediaevalist merged in him with the Orientalist, and in consequence of the greatness of the fusion it will be difficult to state in which field he excelled more.

But even the wealth of comparative knowledge explains by no means the uniqueness of Ananda Coomaraswamy's mind and his influence on his friends. Also here there may be other men, though only a very, very few, who possess a similarly vast knowledge. The miracle rather is how a man with a knowledge extending over so various fields of nature and culture could avoid becoming an encyclopaedist in the quantitative sense of the word. How could his pansophia, his familiarity with so many things and ideas, develop into such a profound synthesis and unity that every part in this wide expanse could become a symbol and representation of the whole?

In asking this question we come, it seems to me, close to the centre of Ananda's personality, so far, at least, as friends can understand each other. In going through an unusual wealth of experiences and in leading

his mind into the most distant fields of knowledge, he not only broadened, but also found himself. And he could do so only because he was given the grace and he knew that it was grace of uniting his ever-growing self with the spiritual Centre of the world for which we have only symbolical expressions such as the Brahma of the Indians, the Logos of the Platonists, and the Urquell of Meister Eckart. Thus, to use a phrase of Ananda Coomaraswamy's friend, the French philosopher René Guénon, 'l'ordre cosmique et l'ordre humain' became one and the same in the thought and work of Ananda.

In consequence of this firmly established order of values he threw overboard rigorously all that seemed to him unessential, becoming one of the sharpest critics of our modern quantitative civilization and its destructive influences on the souls of men, and an uncompromising defender of the cultures he considered still to be embedded in the deeper matrix of life, as against those he considered uprooted. At the same time the unity he felt in the order of the cosmos expressed itself more and more also in his own creations. There are few men whose style of writing is so cogently expressive of their style of thinking as his. As in old pieces of rare craftsmanship there is not a part in his sentences that could be taken out of its context without destroying the whole meaning; there is not one of his hundreds of quotations from many ages and literatures which could appear as a mere display of scholarship. Nor is there any comparison in his writings which moves merely on the horizontal level—just adding one idea to the other because of some external similarity. All his comparisons point toward a common centre in which the individual phenomena participate so that one can be explained with reference to the other. Finally, all the essays written by Ananda Coomaraswamy are linked together like the pillars and girders in a beautifully constructed edifice, though he never wrote a philosophical "system" in the usual sense of the word.

Needless to say, this unio mystica between Ananda's individual mind and the Universal Mind would not help us to explain his thought and style unless it gave us also a clue to the understanding of his personality. Everyone who met him was impressed by the dignity and kindness which radiated from him like rays of warmth from a gentle fire. Yet, as

with all great men who are really kind and not only polite, one also felt that this gentle fire could burst into flames of passion if the sanctuary of his beliefs was violated by people of bad will or ignorance. Therefore he dared tell any Western audience, however illustrious, what he thought about Western imperialism, its cultural arrogance and its false missionary zeal. But even in his hours of ire the great "Hen kai Pan", or the Universal Spirit, stood behind him as a force of reconciliation. He rarely attacked the sins of Western men without saying at the same time, "Why did you not listen to the better men in your own midst? Not to Lord Macaulay and Rudyard Kipling, but to the reverential wisdom of James Tod, Sir George Birdwood, and Sister Nivedita?"

No one can express himself in this continuous unity of devotion and objectivity, of attachment and detachment, no one can act so valiantly as Ananda Coomaraswamy, and at the same time retain the broad perspectives of rationality, unless he has achieved the unio mystica of which we spoke and has opened the windows of his soul to the influx of the Divine. Few men, therefore, were so entitled as he was to explain to us the sacred writings of his home country, especially the Bhagavad-Gita, in which we find :

Thus action is of Brahma, who is One
The Only, All-pervading ; at all times
Present in sacrifice. He that abstains
To help the rolling wheels of this great world,
Glutting his idle sense, lives a lost life,
Shameful and vain.....

.....
...Therefore, thy task prescribed
With spirit unattached gladly perform,
Since in performance of plain duty man
Mounts to his highest bliss.

It was not a humble resignation on the part of Ananda Coomaraswamy, but rather the deepest fulfilment of his proud belief in the ultimate superiority of the Spirit that he said to us at his seventieth birthday, "I wish to tell you that I have added nothing new." Through achieving in his own life the inner unity which exists essentially

between Being and Becoming, Mind and Nature, Art and Craftsmanship, Attachment and Detachment, Action and Contemplation, Ananda Coomaraswamy has become for us the living symbol of the *Philosophia Perennis*, in which he believed, an oasis in the deserts of modernity, a living truth of the words which he used as the motto for his essay on *The Mediaeval Theory of Beauty* and which we quoted at the beginning :

Ex divina pulchritudine esse omnium derivatur.

INDIAN PAINTING IN THE MUSLIM PERIOD : A REVISED HISTORICAL OUTLINE

by H. GOETZ

Introductory Remarks : The purpose of this outline is not simply to recapitulate, condensed and corrected, the results of existing publications, books or articles, but to unrol the history of Indian painting during the Muslim period in its political and culture historical setting. This has already been done for Mughal art in the 16th and 17th centuries. But Rājput painting was treated with hardly any regard to the political vicissitudes of the Hindus under Muslim domination, or to the history of Hindu civilization in this period. The relation and many inter-connections between Mughal and Rājput art have been completely ignored, chiefly as the result of an arbitrary classification and chronology. The links between ancient and later Indian painting have been traced, but not their actual relation which can be understood only against the background of the other contemporary arts. Muslim painting of the 13th-early 16th centuries has been a terra incognita. Moreover, much new material on the early and late history of Rājput painting, and recent researches on Marāṭha art have been incorporated. On the other hand is it not the purpose of this outline to go into all the details of the better known schools and their artists, as this would have upset the balance of the general culture historical picture to be unrolled.

Historical Background : All aspects of Indian cultural life during the Muslim Period which for our purpose may be reckoned from the battle of Tarāin in A. D. 1192 to the definitive disappearance of the Mughal Dynasty in A. D. 1858, were determined by the conflict and interplay of two races, Hindus (including the Jains) and Turks (as the group dominating Arab, Persian, Habshī and even European adventurers

and Indian converts to Islām), two religions, Hinduism and Islām, and two civilizations, half-nomadic Central and Western Asian, and mainly agriculturist Indian culture.

The Indian society overrun by the Muslims was a feudal aristocracy served by and supporting an exclusive priesthood with esoteric teachings : In the North the Rājputs—Indian frontier tribesmen swept by the Mongols, Hūnas and the Scythian Gurjaras into North-Western and Central India and there mixed with other tribes of early Indian or Kushāno-Scythian ancestry ; in the South mainly warriors coming from the mountainous back areas neglected in the preceding periods. This feudal society collapsed before the Muslim invasions in consequence of a latent social and religious revolution, the refractoriness of the provincial squires against the refined court aristocracy, and the stirrings of a new popular religiosity of predominantly Vaishnava character (Krishna and Vithoba). When after the Muslim victories Hindu society recovered, the old dynasties had disappeared or retreated into inaccessible mountains and deserts, and new families claiming to be scions of former ruling houses had risen.

The Hindus of the Deccan recovered first, thanks to the civil wars which in the 14th century broke up the gigantic Tughluq Empire into a number of quarrelling successor sultanates. They formed the Vijayanagar Empire which, backed by a vast, hardly affected hinterland, withstood the Muslims until 1565. The renaissance of pre-Muslim Indian civilization attempted at by the Vijayanagar rulers, however, was increasingly interpreted in a new popular spirit, in art, in Telugu literature, in bhakti religiosity. After the fall of Vijayanagar part of its heritage was handed down, through refugees, to Bījāpur and Ahmadnagar, and after the disintegration of the latter under Mughal pressure, to the rising Rājput states.

During the Muslim civil wars of the 14th century also the Rājputs began to reassert their independence ; but sandwiched between the warring Muhammedan kingdoms, and forced to start practically anew in the cultural field, their progress was much slower but also much sounder than that of Vijayanagar. By the middle of the 15th century their position was consolidated, early in the 16th they had become rivals

to all the surrounding sultanates. After having broken a very obstinate resistance, Akbar the Great finally made them his vassals, under very honourable conditions. In the course of the 15th century a new cultural life had developed in Rājputānā and Bundelkhand, first leaning on the remnants of Mediaeval Hindu tradition surviving in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār, but first evolving its own national style after assimilating other influences, especially from Mālwa. When the Rājput princes grew rich as Mughal generals and governors, they began, however, to adopt more and more of Mughal civilization and when early in the 18th century the empire began to disintegrate, Rājputānā became the principal heir of Delhi, Lāhore and Āgra. But when after the disappearance of Mughal control the Rājput states and clans started fighting against each other, and the Marāthas, overrunning Northern India, plundered Gujarāt, Rājputānā, Mālwa and Bundelkhand, the increasing poverty forced the artists and artisans to find work at the Marātha courts. Only after the last Marātha wars and the subsidiary alliances the Rājput states and Rājput civilization recovered, until the impact of modern life destroyed an already degenerated tradition.

The Rājput states in the Himālaya were of far less importance. They, too, recovered with the decline of the Tughluq Empire, and imitated the 15th-16th century renaissance movement. Only a few princes such as the rājās of Nūrpur or Basohlī played a modest role as Mughal officers, but Nūrpur rebelled against Shāhjahān and was, like Kāngrā, crushed and occupied by Mughal garrisons. In the cultural field these states had to be content with whatever the greater Rājput princes discarded in favour of Mughal civilization. Their opportunity came with the Persian and Afghān invasions since A. D. 1737 and 1747 ff., and the Sikh guerilla war against those invaders who relieved them from political pressure and enriched them, as trade was forced to follow the more difficult, but safer hill route. Thus they built up the three federations of Jammū, Chambā and Kāngrā, with their modest, but refined civilization. When, however, since the end of the 18th century the expanding Gurkhā, British and Sikh powers converged towards the Western Himālaya, most of these small states were swallowed up except Garhwāl, the Simla group, Chambā and Jammū

(under a side line of the dynasty in the Sikh service), and their civilization was absorbed by the kingdoms of Ranjit Singh and Gulāb Singh. The Arab conquest of Sind in A. D. 711 was followed by the disintegration of the 'Abbāsīd Empire a century later. And the Ghaznavid conquest of the Punjāb (ca. A. D. 1000) was paralyzed by the Saljuq invasion of Īrān. In the event both proved to have been no more than a mere preparatory phase. From backward outposts of Hindu culture both provinces became not less unimportant outposts of Muslim civilization.

First with the advance of Muhammad Ghori and of his generals into the heart of Hindustān, Bengal and Rājputānā a real Muslim polity in India was founded. The Mongol invasion of Turkistān, Īrān and Irāq, spilling over into the Punjāb, hindered the expansion of this Mamlūk kingdom, but, by isolating it from the rest of the Muslim world, shaped also its individual character of a colonial military state conserving a late Saljuq culture until deep into the 14th century. When the danger had been averted, its concentrated military power exploded under the Khaljīs and Tughluqs over the whole of India in a megalomaniac imperialism which annihilated both Mediaeval Hindu society and its own colonial aristocracy. When India was at last completely disorganized and exhausted, this predatory imperialism collapsed. Unable to collect the taxes and threatened with a cruel death, the governors rebelled, and the impoverished sultāns were helpless visavis the general revolution of the exasperated provinces.

The overwhelming majority of the Muslim aristocracy of the successor states were Indian converts, children of the soil whose attitude towards Hindu civilization was one of religious toleration, economic consideration and cultural adaptation as far as religious bigotry permitted it. Only the Bahmanī kingdom in the South, frontier march against Vijayanagar, preserved a colonial mentality, attracting adventurers from the Muslim world and cultivating contemporary Muslim (i. e. early Tīmūrid-Persian) culture. However, after the fall of Vijayanagar also the successor sultanates of the Bahmanī state followed the lead of the North in the matter of toleration and cultural synthesis.

With the foundation of the Mughal universal state this process



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reached its apogee. The first, "colonial" and purely Central Asian-Turkish phase of Mughal conquest had lacked stability. By entering into an alliance with the proud Rājputs, Akbar the Great stabilized the Mughal state, but opened also the gates to Hindu influence. The Mughal state and Mughal civilization retained a genuine Indian character even after Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb had relapsed into an increasingly one-sided Muslim policy. When after Bahādur Shāh's death in 1712 the empire disintegrated into a mixed Muslim-Hindu federation at last dominated by the Marāthas, this civilization became that of all the courts of India, from Kāngrā and Jammū in the North to Tanjore in the South.

The invasions of Nādir, Ahmad and Tīmūr Shāh were a political failure. They broke up the Mughal Empire in favour of the Marāthas, smashed the latter merely to be expelled by the Sikhs, and achieved no more than a short-lived control over Kashmīr. But for some influence on Kashmīrī civilization and on the 19th century Indo-Muslim costume they have left no direct heritage.

The British, however, who actually took over the heritage of the Mughal Empire, expanded their control very cautiously. For thirty years after the Mughal emperor had become their pensioner, they maintained the fiction of acting as his representatives, and European influence likewise infiltrated almost imperceptibly. Thus peace and economic recovery permitted a last cultural renaissance until with the Mutiny and the construction of the railways also this last echo of the Indo-Muslim period disappeared.

Social Background : Both the Hindu and the Muslim societies of this period were feudal, the first of a hereditary character, the latter a military hierarchy. Both were bound by religion and custom to treat their correlative well, but there existed practically no check on the power of the military classes except the personal ideals and goodwill of the rulers, the respect of the nobles and the old experience that you should not kill the goose laying your golden eggs. In this society the painter occupied a very modest place, a small artisan working in the personal employ of a ruler or noble, or in the bazar. He was poorly paid, and obliged to please his protector or protectors with presents (nazars) of some small (genre or religious) pictures on the occasion of the

principal festivals. Not seldom he was expected to work for nothing in acknowledgment of the protection or toleration he was enjoying, and could risk ill-treatment if he refused to do so. He could feel lucky if he was taken into the personal service of the mighty, either individually or as a hand in a larger establishment (*kār-khāna*). If he was very lucky, he might be granted some land and obtain some small office as a member of the court gentry.

Such artists, of course, could not consciously cultivate a personal style, though their individual capacities and interests come out on closer investigation. Their style was formed by the taste of their employers, and whoever could not adapt himself, risked to lose his job. Thus Hindu painters worked for Muslim employers, and Muslims executed Hindu religious pictures for Rājput or Sikh maecenes. Hindu painters tried to adapt their style to the Persian or naturalistic ideals of the Mughals and Mughal artists endeavoured to satisfy the predilection of Rājput thākurs and rājās for a musical linearism and romantic emotionalism. As the fortunes of Hindu and Muslim aristocracies rose and fell with the vicissitudes of war and politics, few permanent schools developed, and even these were influenced by the work of interlopers from outside.

Moreover, the attitude towards painting of the classes giving work to the painters was very different, though they influenced each other. For the Hindus and Jains it was a predominantly religious art, though the latter—wealthy merchants—were before all interested in a costly execution, especially gilding, whereas the Śaivas and Vaishnavas expected an emotional appeal in harmony with the *bhakti* attitude of their faith. For the Muslims it was a secular art which the more bigoted ones regarded as prohibited by religious law, whereas the more tolerant ones regarded this prohibition as referring only to religious subjects. Thus painting was more or less an art to amuse the ladies of the *zenānas*, or to illustrate scientific books. But both Hindus and Muslims needed painters for a practical purpose, as a sort of "press photographers" taking the portraits of prominent people and pictures of important events.

The Early Indo-Muslim Schools: Very little is known of Muslim painting in India before the coming of the Mughals. Literary evidence shows that it flourished, but only a few examples are known, all of the

early 16th century. However, when carefully examined in the light of what we know of the general cultural trends of those centuries, these latter permit a reconstruction, at least in great outlines, of those early schools. And it is probable that when the general style type will have been ascertained, also actual examples of the 13th—15th centuries will be found amongst the many still unidentified local schools of "Arabic" and "Persian" painting.

Under the Mamlūk, Khiljī and Tughluq sultans of Delhi a variety of the "Baghdād school" of the 13th and 14th centuries must have been in fashion. On the disintegration of the Tughluq Empire this style was continued at least under the sultāns of Gujarāt where it assimilated some characteristics of local Jain and Hindu painting. When the Ahmadābād sultanate likewise declined and at last was conquered by Akbar, some artists working in this manner must have emigrated to Mārwar, Bīkāner and other Rājput courts, where the last vestiges of this style can be traced in some early Rājput MSS. In other early Rājput MSS. also slight vestiges of the Saljuq-Īrānian style, apparently handed down in Mālwa, can be traced, whereas some early Mughal tombs at Sarhind reveal slight reminiscences of the Mongol (Nestorian-Uigur?) style of the Jamī-at-Tawārīkh MS. in London and Edinburgh, probably conserved in Kashmīr. When the beautiful "Tīmūrid" Persian miniature style of the late 14th and 15th centuries reached India, is difficult to say. It was known in Mālwa and Bengal at least in the early 16th century, and probably also at Delhi under the Lodīs and Sayyids. Under the later Bahmanīs it must have been common, as it forms one of the ingredients traceable in the style of the earliest known miniatures from Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar; this Bahmanī variety differed from its Persian model by a stricter geometrical composition, such as it is found also in early Rājput miniatures.

The Survival of Mediaeval Indian Painting: As far as the few surviving fragments from Bengal, Bihār, Kulū, Madanpur and Gujarāt permit us to judge. Mediaeval Indian painting must in the centuries preceding the Muslim conquest still have conserved most of the Gupta tradition. The style had become more mannered, the treatment as a whole more summary and elegant, with strong, sweeping outlines, flat

surfaces and often overcrowded composition. All this was now annihilated. The painters of the more sophisticated "Eastern School" flourishing in the Ganges plains took refuge in Nepāl, Tibet and Ladakh, but lost contact with India after the submersion of Buddhism there. Kashmīr painting, originally forming part of the "Western School", fell after the Muslim conquest of the Panjāb under the influence of the "Eastern School", but at last was likewise pushed back into Ladakh. The "Western School" flourished in Rājputānā, Central India and Gujarāt, survived in inaccessible retreats of the Thar Desert, the Aravallis, Kāthiāwār and Eastern Gujarāt. But under the unfavourable conditions it was quickly petrified to a set of purely ornamental formulas for the illustration of religious palm leaf manuscripts which, alone, had a chance to escape Muslim iconoclasm. Only in the Southern Deccan the great Mediaeval fresco style was continued under the protection of the rājās of Vijayanagar, but it, too, underwent a gradual transformation into a folk style. Its final stage is known to us only from the reliefs of the great throne terrace at Hampi, but must have been the same in painting, to conclude from its introduction into the pictorial art of Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar after the disaster of Talikota.

The Gujarat School in the 15th and early 16th Centuries: Under the toleration of the sultāns of Ahmadābād the ossified West-Indian palm leaf style first assumed a rather fashionable elegance and then, with the greater facility of drawing provided by the introduction of paper, was transformed into a vivid folk style of a very charming naiveté. However, as their typology was already fixed, the Jain illustrations relapsed, after a shortlived renaissance, into a dead mannerism, and came to a modest life only much later, under the influence of Mughal and Rājput art. But with Hindu book illustration the case was different. The popular mass enthusiasm of bhakti mysticism reduced the respect for tradition and facilitated a direct sympathetic approach to the favourite religious themes of this time. The Devī Mahātmya and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa had played a very subordinate role in pre-Muslim Hindu iconography. On the other hand Krishna bhakti developed such a vogue of lyric literature simply calling for illustration, but unknown to tradition that the painters were forced to follow their



own inspiration. Already in the Jain Kālakāchārya Kathā the painters had ventured to depict the Śaka protectors and later converts of the Jains in contemporary Muslim costumes. Now they had to go much farther, had to fill with a new life the ossified types of Jain iconography, and to compose them into new scenes (e. g. Balagopālastuti, etc.). After the creative initiative of the artists had thus been kindled again, the process of a free treatment of tradition, of simplification and transformation of the old types and invention of new ones went on and on, leading towards a new art which, however, was to unfold itself not in Gujarāt, but in Rājputānā. The civil wars of the late Ahmadābād sultanate and its conquest by the Mughals were not favourable to the peaceful cultivation of art.

The Old Bengali School : Parallel with this religious and artistic revival in Western India went a similar movement in Bengal. As in the first countries Narendra Mehta and Mīrā Bāi had been the protagonists of a fervent Krishna mysticism, Chaitanya became the prophet of Krishna bhakti in the east. And also here the religious revival inspired, under Muslim toleration, a new art. As the Mediaeval "Eastern School" flourishing under the Pālas, Senas and Varmanas had disappeared, its starting point was the art of the neighbouring province of Orissā, which had never been permanently subjected by the Muhammedans. Orissā had, like Gujarāt and the South already developed a popular reinterpretation of ancient Indian painting, though this folk-style had been strongly influenced from the South, especially Vijayanagar. This Bengal style developed on lines parallel to Rājput art, probably even influenced by the latter via Mathurā. But like early Rājput painting, it degenerated with the ebbing down of the mystic movement and lingered on as a rural folk art. There were no such influential Hindu courts as in Rājputānā which regained their independence in the decline of Mughal power. However, a last renaissance was to ensue also in Bengal, though on a very modest scale : The Paṭas of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Early Rajasthani Schools : When Gujarātī painting broke through the traditions of Jain iconography, the Rājput kingdoms emerging since the 14th century had acquired sufficient strength for an artistic life of

their own. Even in the 15th century their native art had not yet progressed beyond a very primitive folk art level. However, as in the 8th—12th centuries they had adopted and developed post-Gupta art, they now accepted the surviving Mediaeval Gujarātī tradition and later also contemporary Mālwa art. When and where a genuine Rājput style first evolved is not yet ascertained. There are reasons to assume that this happened at Chitorgarh somewhere in the time between Rānā Kūmbha and Rānā Sanga, the age of Mīrā Bāi and so many other passionate mystic singers. But it spread first in the early 16th century and reached its zenith in Akbar's later reign.

The Hindu-Gujarātī style of the early 16th century was now freely developed in the spirit of contemporary Rājput folk art (especially the Pāliya reliefs). The composition of the individual figures as well as of the enclosing scenery follows the same principles as those found in the early Egyptian wall reliefs or on the black-figured archaic Greek vases. What endows this new style with a special charm, however, is the passionate feeling penetrating faces, poses, the symbolic by-work and the glowing colour scheme. A later centre of this first type (with predominantly dark red background), so far known only in a few Rāgmālā sets, was Orchhā under rājā Madhukar Shāh.

Another type (with predominantly yellow background), under considerably stronger Gujarātī influence, seems to have flourished at Jodhpur under rājā Māldev and at Sirohi under Sūrthān Singh, a third group (likewise with yellow background, but slimmer and larger figures) may tentatively be assigned to Amber under Bhagwāndās, a fourth group, later absorbed into Akbar's kārkhāna, must be postulated for the court of Mān Singh Tomār of Gwālīor, whereas at Bīkāner and Jaisalmer were executed merely very primitive outline illustrations of considerable linear verve. Towards the end of the century new influences resulted from the absorption of refugee artists from Gujarāt, Mālwa and Ahmadnagar. Vijayanagar influence, via Ahmadnagar, seems to be responsible for the female type characteristic of the early Amber school. Muslim as well as Jain-Gujarātī and Mālwa style elements can be traced in Mārwar between ca. 1560-90. Bīkāner under Rāi Singh who collected many illustrated MSS. during his stay in Gujarāt

and at Burhānpur, and probably also Būndi started at that time local schools of their own.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the Rāgmāla and the Rasikpriyā of Keśava-dās Sanādhyā Miśra are the favourite subjects of these paintings, occasionally also Sūrdās, Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, Devī-Mahātmya, and portraits. The style varies from crystal-clear composition, of "Egyptian" construction, sweet outline and exquisite colour balance to muddled composition, careless drawing and harsh colour dissonances.

The Early Mughal School : The Mughal princes had been lovers of painting already before they had established their empire in India. Bābur had been interested in the creations of Herāt under Husain Baiqarā ; Humāyūn employed painters from Turkistān, but during his exile in Persia engaged two prominent masters of the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, Mīr Sayyid Alī and Khwāja Abdas-Samad. Akbar's policy of Indianization as well as the increased demand for artisans needed for the execution of his many art schemes resulted in the employment of many indigenous artists, Muslims and Hindus, from Kashmīr, Gwālīor, Gujarāt, but especially from Amber. Though these Indians were trained in the official Persian court style, they could not completely abandon their traditional training. Moreover, Akbar's own ideas on art underwent a complete change. Of manysided interests and above the prejudices of his time, he appreciated not the special Safavī mannerism of his Persian master artists, but the finish, elegance and naturalistic details of their work. A keen observer and lover of nature, he encouraged his artists to study nature above all, and it was from this point of view that the Flemish and Italian prints brought by the Jesuit missionaries from Goa interested him, so far as they did not attract his theological curiosity. Thus whereas the earliest Mughal style was purely Tūrānī-Persian, though with an increasing admixture of Indian details, its second phase revealed many clumsy Indian imitations by the side of the first type, until both were more and more fused in a new naturalism ; though it is true that this naturalism was limited to the details of the pictures, their general composition, nay even the build-up of the figures being laid down by the traditional conventions of Persian and early Rājput art.

The Imperial Mughal Style of Painting : Of great indirect importance

for the formation of the classic Mughal style was the revolution in Persian painting early in the 17th century. The style of Rizā 'Abbāsī which became the fashion under Shāh 'Abbās the Great, was inspired by the drawings on the blue-and-white china ware of the Mings and early Manchus then imported in large quantities from China. Its Far Eastern flow of line and sophisticated elegance could fit well into the Persian tradition such as it had grown since the Mongol invasions, but not into the Indian, and whatever direct impression it left was the identification of black-and white drawings, occasionally heightened by some indications of colour, with the "Īrānī Qalam". But the Rizā 'Abbāsī fashion met, in pictorial art, the new taste in architecture for white marble inlaid with costly stones, and of delicate white muslin costumes embroidered with gold, silver and small flowers, ushered in by the empress Nūr Jahān. Thus it discredited the earlier colourful Safavī influences which had dominated the court studios under Akbar and in the early reign of Jahāngīr so that Rājput composition and figure build-up now could become the foundation of all Mughal pictorial art. What remained of the earlier Persian tradition, was the minute care in drawing and ornamenting every smallest detail of the miniatures. Finally it facilitated European influence, as in those times of difficult overseas communications contemporary European art became known chiefly through the medium of prints which were executed in great quantities, especially at Antwerp, for missionary propaganda.

Thus the classical Mughal style developed, on a Rājput substructure, with delicate and very careful decoration, and a certain tendency towards naturalism, pronounced in all details, tentative and mannered in the treatment of shadow and light effects, occasionally also in composition, where it was merely clumsily copied from European prints. Under Jahāngīr the chief accent was still laid on the careful, detailed observation of nature favoured by Akbar. To this interest of the emperor we owe those excellent portraits and other studies from nature, mammals, birds, fishes, insects, flowers which form such a famous aspect of Mughal art. But most of the output of the imperial studios under Akbar and in Jahāngīr's early reign had been illustrations of historical, romantic and didactic books. This book illustration now



went somewhat out of fashion ; but it was replaced by representations of court life, official as well as intimate, collected in beautifully adorned albums. From Shāhjahān to Farrukhsiyar portraits of the rulers and grandees, durbār, battle, hunting and religious scenes, and finally zenāna pictures, all solemn and etiquette-bound, dominated Mughal art. Thus the naturalistic tendencies were again forgotten, in favour of another, very decorative mannerism.

Painting in the Deccani Sultanates: In the Deccanī sultanates there existed no Hindu influence comparable to that of Rājput art. The artificial galvanization of Mediaeval Hindu painting as practised in the South could neither appeal to the Muslims nor adapt itself to changing demands. The folk style which had developed in the late Vijayanagar Empire, was introduced after the disaster of Talikota by refugees in Bijāpur under 'Alī I and Ibrāhīm II, in Ahmadnagar under Husain Shāh I and especially queen Khūnza Sultān, regent for Murtazā I, and probably also in Golconda (to conclude from paintings of the early 18th century perpetuating that tradition). Mixing with the existing local Turco-Persian court style it created a very charming, but short-lived hybrid art (several Rāgmālās, Nujjūm-ul-Ulūm, Tarif-i Husain Shāhī) which disappeared again, at least from the courts, after two decades. But part of those Hindu artists seem later on to have found a refuge at the rising Rājput courts, for their influence is felt in varying degrees in early paintings at Amber, Bīkāner and Mārwar. More lasting probably was the indirect influence of the Vijayanagar jewellers and brass workers both on Deccanī architecture and painting since the end of the 16th century.

Under Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh II the Akbarī Mughal school got a hold on the Bijāpur court, by the side of Safavī-Persian painting. Later the Rizā 'Abbāsī style came into fashion, European artists worked in a clumsy imitation of Titian and Veronese, and the longer the more the imperial Mughal style made its impression on the art of a divided kingdom. In early Golconda paintings which we know only through their echo in the Masulipatam "pintadoes", Rājput and early Mughal features appear superficially mixed with Persian and Deccanī Hindu elements. Then the Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān taste must have fixed

the style of the later Golconda school. But all Deccanī schools differ from Mughal painting by a rather flat conception, pronounced sweeping outlines, strongly contrasted colour surfaces and a romanticism reminding one of Rājput art.

Rajasthani Painting under Mughal Influence : As the leading Rājput princes spent almost more time at the Mughal court or on the frontiers of the empire than at home, Mughal court and provincial art could not fail to impress them strongly; as the principal theatre of war in the 17th century was the Deccan, the provincial style influencing them most was that of the rich, but quickly disintegrating sultanates of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda. Practically all rājās brought home collections of Mughal and Deccanī arms, jewellery, miniatures and manuscripts, South Indian idols, etc. They had their portraits painted by artists of the imperial court, and soon engaged also some of the less prosperous Mughal or Deccanī artists themselves. Already Jai Singh I Mirzā Rājā had aroused the wrath of the aging emperor Jahāngīr by imitating the new imperial marble architecture in his palace at Amber. Mughal architecture conquered Rājputānā first in the last quarter of the 17th century when Aurangzeb's puritanism, long absence in the Deccan and financial difficulties left most artists at the imperial capitals without or with insufficient employment.

But the Mughal pictorial style began to infiltrate at varying degrees already from the third decade of the same century. This infiltration was effected in two opposite manners. Mughal painters in the service of the Rājput princes had to adapt themselves to the taste of their new masters developing more sweeping outlines, flatter surfaces, simpler colour harmonies. The Deccanī masters introduced their predilection for excessive gilding, besides minor details of their own tradition. The Rājput painters, on the other hand, while retaining their tradition in depicting the favourite Hindu religious and literary subjects, were forced to introduce all the delicate and refined ornamentation of Mughal art.

The most important centres where this mixed style developed, were Orchhā under Bīr Singh Deo, Amber under Jai Singh I, Jodhpur under Gaj Singh, Bundī under Chhattarsāl, Bīkāner under Karan and Anūp Singh. In the last years of Aurangzeb this assimilation had gone so far

as to leave only little difference between Mughal and Rājasthānī painting. And even this disappeared when the subsequent disintegration of the Mughal empire and the parallel impoverishment of its capitals forced most artists to find an employment at the rājā courts. This movement reached its maximum between 1731 and 1754 when Marāthas, Persians and Afghāns overran and plundered the unhappy empire. Jaipur gave refuge to the artists of Delhi and Lahore, the Pahārī states to those of the Panjāb. But when the splendour of Delhi had disappeared, the Mughal influence ceased and was absorbed and transformed into later Rājput art.

The "Basohli" School : The victory of the Mughal style in Rājputānā resulted in the eviction from court service of all painters adhering to the early Rājasthānī style. They were forced to return to the bazar or to work for some minor princes or feudal lords. Thus the early Rājasthānī school has survived, only slightly modified, in a number of not yet identified places into the early 19th century ; but most of these remnants were likewise absorbed or disappeared in the course of the 18th century. Only one acquired importance because of its isolation in the Panjāb Himālaya, the so-called "Basohli" School.

Like their mightier compatriots in Rājputānā, also the rājās of the Himālaya had joined the Mughal service. However, most of them were too small or backward to play any role. The rājās of Kāngrā, once the overlords of the other hill states, were reduced after several revolts to petty zamīndars. The Pathāniās of Nūrpur rose high in the favour of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, only to be broken after their rebellion and the siege of Tārāgarh by Shāhjahān in 1642. Only the rājās of Basohli (Balor) remained loyal to the Mughals and, thus, reaped the fruits which Nūrpur had sown.

Nūrpur and Basohli had engaged masons, painters and other artisans from Rājputānā, probably from Amber and Bīkāner. When Basohli was temporarily overshadowed by Nūrpur, and when afterwards Nūrpur was punished, part of the artists there emigrated to Jammū, Chambā, Mandī and Kulū. This earlier Pahārī school fell under the influence of the local wood sculpture which had survived the collapse of Mediaeval court art and which had evolved a rather exaggerated, but charming and expressive manner of its own when, towards the end of the 17th century

Mughal control and the contact with Rājputānā came to an end. By the middle of the 18th century it was superseded first by Mughal influence and then by the "Kāngrā" style. In Basohli it was fused with new Mughal elements under rājā Amritpāl (3rd quarter 18th century). After 1775 Kāngrā art conquered also Basohli, but the "Basohli" manner was continued in the small states of its neighbourhood up to Sikh times.

The Late Mughal Style : Since the end of the 17th century Mughal art underwent a subtle change. The repression exercised by the stern puritan emperor, the quick succession of short reigns and of dictatorial governments, the breakdown of a well-ordered administration, the defection of vassals and governors, and foreign invasions created a sense of frustration and insecurity and, with it, a desire to escape from reality. Amidst a growing chaos, the fashionable Mughal court was preoccupied with erotic pleasures, Persian and Urdū poetry, music, dance and refined luxuries. With singers and dancing girls in the centre of social interest and even as official imperial favourites, Urdū poetry and Hindu music in fashion, and the boundaries between art at the imperial and the Rājput courts completely obliterated, Hindu mentality and Hindu subjects were bound to invade late Mughal painting. It assumed the summary treatment, the sweeping linear flow, the sentimental romanticism of contemporary Rājput art, imported yogī and yoginī, Rāgmālā, Nāyikā and even Rādhā-Krishna scenes, but in a spirit of romantic sentimentality and a weary "night" mysticism, more in harmony with Richard Wagner's "Tristan" than with the enthusiastic raptures of Mīrā Bāi, Chandīdās or Chaitanya.

After the deposition of Ahmad Shāh, however, the cultivation of art became impossible in an insecure impoverished and decaying "capital" of a few districts, and most of the painters emigrated to Faizābād and other residences of now independent nawābs. In the early 19th century the Delhi school of painting could be revived again. Under the protection of British sepoy and with the funds of a British pension the last two Mughal emperors could think of restoring at least a shadow of the splendour of their ancestors. And painting was obviously the least expensive of all arts. Thus a considerable activity was started, but it was merely of an imitative character, so careful, that many of its creations

have been accepted by less trained connoisseurs as genuine works of the 17th and early 18th centuries, though proportions, poise, expression, composition everywhere reveal the lack of sufficient firsthand observation. Nor could the artists avoid the intrusion of contemporary Afghān and European fashions in life as well as in art. To the latter belonged the oval portrait miniatures on ivory which after the Mutiny were to be, in the bazars, the chief survivors of this last Mughal renaissance.

However, in the same way in which Mughal art had captured the Rājput courts, it became established also at the residence of the Muslim governors when these latter became practically independent and hereditary nawābs. The earliest of these provincial centres was Hyderābād where the Mughal style, under the influence of the previous Deccanī schools, developed a magnificent rhythm and vivacity in the reign of the great Āsaf-Jāh, but quickly degenerated already under Nizām 'Alī. The Bengal school at Murshidābād and Patna cultivated a certain refined languor ; but after the establishment of British rule the artists had to make a living chiefly by working for European officials, and thus fell under the successive influence of Classicist, Romantic and even Preraphaelite British art until they were absorbed into the modern Bengal school. The Oudh school (Faizābād and Lucknow) continued the Delhi school of Muhammad and Ahmad Shāh's reigns. It was correct and careful, but of a rather academic coldness, often working older models into its pictures. Since Sa'adat 'Alī Shāh it began to be transformed under European influence, and part of the artists seem to have transferred their activities to Jaipur. Smaller centres have existed at Benares, Rāmpur, Kashmīr (under Afghān influence), Mertā, Surat, Bhopāl, Mysore, etc., and itinerant Mughal artists have until the 19th century frequented the various Rājput courts. To attempt a characterization of all these ephemeral style groups is impossible in the present context.

The Late Rajput Schools in Rajputana and Bundelkhand : When Delhi became a mere ghost of its former splendour, the Rājput style began to re-emerge from the inundation of Mughal art. The rājās, now independent, were no more impressed by an impoverished and helpless court, the tool of whoever wanted and could misuse for his own ambitions the last shreds of past authority. The emigration of artists had also

come to an end about 1754. Though the Mughal technique was not abandoned, its aesthetic interpretation relapsed more and more into the old Rājput course, though with a decisive difference. The Rājput courts had now likewise become infected by the general decadence of India, corrupt and voluptuous, like the Delhi of Muhammad and Ahmad Shāh. And the old mystic-romantic themes of art and poetry had sunk down to a pretext and masquerade for zenāna pleasures. Gods and goddesses are no more symbols of cosmic forces, not even their incarnations, they are dressed-up dancing girls and pleasure-boys. The zenith of this very fashionable, very mannered and artificial but also in its own way perfect art was reached between 1820 and 1840 when the British subsidiary alliances secured the leisure and necessary funds for a luxury life not yet affected by modern influences. In a decadent form, however, this art continued its life into the seventies and eighties of the last century, and in some states is lingering on even to-day.

The history of the individual schools is so far little explored. Under Sawāi Jai Singh the 'Ālamgīrī-Mughal style dominated Jaipur painting completely. Under Sawāi Isrī Singh the first indications of returning Rājput ideals became visible, but in the early reign of Sawāi Mādhō Singh there followed an irresistible irruption of the "Baroque" late Mughal taste which gave the late Jaipur style its distinctive note. Under the licentious Sawāi Pratāp Singh, Jagat Singh II and Jai Singh III the Jaipur style reached its very fashionable, but somewhat cold and pompous perfection. Many miniatures of this time are of exceptional size, apparently influenced by the measurements of contemporary British engravings. Famous are the life-size Rādhā-Krishna cartoons (royal portraits of the same type are in the Pothī-Khāna), a re-transposition of wall paintings and embroidered kanāts into the "miniature" technique. Towards the middle of the 19th century Jaipur painting became commercialized, many artists had already emigrated to other parts of India, the style grew crude and expressionless, and the subjects were not seldom of a repulsive coarseness.

Earlier Jodhpur painting had almost completely disappeared in consequence of Aurangzeb's occupation of the town and fort. Ajit and Abbai Singh revived it with the help of Mughal artists from Delhi and

Ahmadābād. First under Bakht Singh the Rājput note broke through, to become more emphasized under Bijai Singh. At last under Mān Singh the high style of the Jodhpur School was complete, less finished than the Jaipur style, and with a somewhat shrill colour scheme in which orange, yellow and dark green dominated, but of an overwhelming linear verve, with unnaturally exaggerated leaf-shaped eyes with drawn-up corners, full chins, heavy breasts protruding from exaggerated chests, wide costumes standing off like old Spanish farthingales. Here also some paintings are large, some even life-size, destined as wall hangings for Vallabhāchārya temples. Under Takhat Singh a mass production set in, of careless execution, but its linear verve is driven to the very extreme of rhythmic vitality. Under Mān Singh religious subjects had predominated, Śaiva, Śākta, Nāth (Kānpata) and Krishna-bhākta ; under his successor the never-ending dancing girl amusements of the zenāna occupied the entire sphere of interest.

Closely related to the later Jodhpur school is the Kishangarh school which, however, had preserved into the late 18th and even early 19th century characteristics of the early Rājasthānī style by the side of a certain provincialism. The late work which comprises also large-size hangings is distinguished from the Jodhpur style by a lankness apparently inspired by the body constitution of rājā Kalyān Singh. (Some characteristics of the Kishangarh school can be traced also in miniatures from Bīkāner).

The Bīkāner School under Sujān Singh had reached the pure Mughal style which under Zorāwar Singh became somewhat sickly and neurasthenic. Gaj Singh revived it with the help of refugees from Delhi and Lahore who executed also wall paintings in the Fort Palace. But in his later years the Rājput tendencies came again to the foreground. The best and purest period of the late Rājput style was the reign of Sūrat Singh (end of the 18th and early 19th centuries) to which belong also the "cranes and clouds panels" published by A. K. Coomaraswamy. Since Ratan Singh the decay set in, though even to-day the tradition is still alive.

The Jaisalmer school had never been important, few paintings of the 18th century are known, those of the 19th excel by a wild, but undisciplined linear rhythm.

The Udaipur School in its earlier phases is still unexplored. The continuous wars with the Mughals had not been favourable, and the early revival under the rānās Amar Singh, Sangrām Singh II and Jagat Singh II showed little originality. Then the complete exhaustion of the state by the raids of the Marāthas and Pindārīs paralyzed most artistic activities so that painting began to flourish first under British protection, especially under Bhīm, Jawān and Sarūp Singh, however, with all the characteristics of the decadent style of that period.

Of the Hāraoti School only fragments survive. The pure Mughal style was probably introduced at Būndi by Budh Singh and changed into the later Rājput manner in the reign of Umed Singh. The pure late Rājput type was reached under Bishan Singh and degenerated under Rām Singh, whereas the main period of the same style at Kotāh falls into the reigns of Umed, Kishore and Rām Singh. The school was not very important, and in its later creations reveals similarity with the Jaisalmer style.

The early Bundela School which soon after Bīr Singh Deo's death had adopted the Mughal style, had not survived the rebellion of Jhujhār Singh against Shāhjahān. However, several Rāgmālā sets are known which, to conclude from the type of architecture depicted, seem to come from Bundelkhand, ca. A. D. 1740-60; they reveal Rājput style tendencies surprisingly strong for that date which may have been due to the weakness of Mughal influence in consequence of the long guerrilla war. But during the hightide of Marātha oppression this charming school withered away and was late in the century superseded by late Mughal imports. They dominate even in the ceiling frescoes of the late Lakshmi-Nārāyan Temple of Orchhā. The miniatures published by N. C. Mehta, though revealing a very individual note, are characteristic of the late reign of Shatrujīt Singh (1762-1801), but not of the average style of the late Dātīā school.

The Maratha School: During their victorious campaigns all over India under Bājī Rāo I and Bālājī Bājī Rāo the Marāthas began to appreciate and imitate the arts and luxuries of the other Indian courts for which purpose they employed, in a very eclectic manner, Mughal, Rājput, Gujarātī and South Indian artists. The portraits of early

मीतकोबुलदुतीवेटीवृषनांतजुकीजौबेकुजसोदाराजीआनिदेसीगाखैःनाज
 नुकेजवनबिलोकीबेकुपानपातीउपरअकेलीगइआनदविचारकैःरेषतदेष्टह
 रिजावतेकैनागुंदेशीदारागहिव्यालुअसबिनीउंसहारीकौःनेटीनरिअंकमनना
 योकरिछामोमुहकेसरसौमादोमुहबेसरसवारकैः॥





Marātha rulers and leaders reveal not much quality or individual style. However, in the late 18th century also a distinctive Marātha school of painting developed, a degenerated, and rather boorish variety of the late Rājput style. Of greater interest are the Marātha underglass paintings which came into fashion under Sawāi Mādho Rāo and Bājī Rāo II. They represent a Chinese import, and in successive examples the transition from Chinese to Rājput, Marātha and at last European types can easily be followed.

The Kangra School : Already the invasion of Nādir Shāh, 1737-38, had induced some Mughal artists to flee from the Panjāb to the Beās Valley. They found a refuge with Govardhan Chand of Gūler, the small, but senior Katoch state south-west of Kāngrā, and founded the Gūler school of painting. But when Ahmad Shāh Durrānī devastated the Panjāb in campaign after campaign, Mughal civilization there came to an end. The painters working for the nawāb's court at Lahore emigrated to Bīkāner and other Rājput states, but the minor masters had to be content with finding jobs in the Himālayan Rājput states. Thus after 1750 small Mughal schools turned up in Pūnch, Rāmnaḡar, Basohlī, Chambā, "Kāngrā", Mandī and even Garhwāl. The style of most of these is very provincial, only Pūnch and "Kāngrā" reveal a decent standard. Within a decade or two all of them again disappeared, superseded or assimilated into the new Pahārī-Rājput style of "Kāngrā".

Kāngrā then was still a Mughal Fort, but the Katoch rājās who then resided at Ālampur, Tira-Sujānpur and Nadāun became the leading power of the Beās Valley already before they recaptured the capital of their ancestors. Under Ghamand Chand (1751-75) the style of the immigrated Mughal painters was transformed into the thoroughly Rājput, early Kāngrā style which, though rather crude and timid in line, colour, movement and expression, already foreboded all the characteristics of its classical phase under Sansār Chand II, between 1775 and 1806. The high Kāngrā school, melodious, bright, romantic, in many ways comparable to the Sienese Trecentists of Italy, is one of the finest expressions of Indian art. It lacks grandeur and tragedy, but it evokes the raptures of a dreamland of love, not genuinely mystic, but neither sensuous : pure and healthy where all nature sings with the happy heart.

Already in the eighties the Kāngrā style expanded over all the surrounding states, and when the Gurkhā war dispersed most of Sansār Chand's artists, many local schools arose, from Basohlī to Garhwāl. Most famous of these later artists has become Molā-Rām (1750-1833), the great master of Garhwāl who started in the "Basohlī" manner (1769 ff.), experimented in the Mughal technique (1771 ff.) and finally brought to perfection the Kāngrā style of the beginning 19th century.

The Gurkhā war (1806-13) had broken the power of the hill Rājputs, and the Sikh conquest following on it broke this art. State after state was annexed, and those still surviving lived, impoverished and exhausted, in daily fear of extinction and, what seemed worse, of being dishonoured by the plebeian Sikhs. "Kāngrā" art did not die, but it grew old. Its happy, gallant and romantic spirit was broken, it became formal, solemn and over-ornamental, like a heavy dream sought in drugs in order to forget the nightmare of life.

Sikh Painting: In this late form "Kāngrā" painting was taken over by the Sikhs, at that time rather vulgar upstarts, boisterous, realistic, puritan. There was no room for Rājput romanticism and mystic symbolism. Like the early Mughals they appreciated a realistic portrait, enjoyed a foul zenāna jest, or could use a few religious pictures where Hindu mythology had intruded into the Sikh cult. Later they began to appreciate the whole range of Kāngrā themes, like the Hindus living under that rule. But then the Sikh kingdom was already disintegrating and Indian painting everywhere declining fast.

The End: Through the whole second half of the 19th century traditional Indian painting was dying a lingering death. With every railway, canal or trunk road foreign goods came in, not yet in large quantities, but just the type of luxury articles likely to alter the tastes of rulers, nobles and rich merchants, of all those who had been the employers, and customers of the native artists. Even where new artistic predilections were not awakened, the former sureness of taste and connoisseurship disappeared; demands for new techniques, for perspective and strict nature imitation, for light and shadow, for exotic "Western" accessories and other inessential superficialities came up. But they did not offer any substitute for the perfect line, rhythm, colour harmony, strength of

expression and suggestion of some higher reality behind the visible things of this world. And these are the essence of all art, and had been the essence also of Indian art through the centuries whatever technical shortcomings and conventions those styles of a Mediaeval society may have had. Thus painting was relegated to the bazar, however without becoming a real folk art; it is now disappearing without hope for a revival, though it may help to inspire a new national art.

ILLUSTRATIONS :

1. Gandha Vyūha, Kulū, 11th century. Sv. Roerich collection.
2. Elopement. Rājputāna, end of 15th century (?). Disintegration of the "Jain"-Gujarātī style into Rājput folk art. Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares.
3. Devalis (Pāliyās), dated A. D. 1435, Kodāmdesar near Bīkāner.
4. Illustration of Rāgini. Ahmadnagar, ca. A. D. 1570. Lalgarh Palace, Bīkāner.
5. Illustration to the Rasikpriyā of Keśavadās Sanādhyā Miśra of Orchhā. Chitorgarh or Orchhā, 3rd quarter of the 16th century. Bīkāner, Lalgarh Palace.
6. Childhood of Krishna. From a Bhāgavata Purāṇa Album, Tularam Collection, Delhi. Mārwar, ca. A. D. 1580-1590, mainly 15th century Ahmadābād style, partly adapted to the Rājasthānī taste.
7. Illustration to the Rasikpriyā of Keśavadās Sanādhyā Miśra of Orchhā. Amber, ca. A. D. 1580-1590. Lalgarh Palace, Bīkāner.

GANDHIJI ON ART

By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

Many people carry the impression that Gandhiji had no sense of art or of beauty in him ; that his life was so rigidly drilled and spartan in character that there was no room left for any of the softer graces of life. Among those who formerly shared such a view, the artist Nandalal Bose was one. But there was an occasion when Nanda Babu had an opportunity of completely revising his opinion in this respect.

It was during one of the Congress sessions that Nandalal Bose had been invited by Gandhiji himself to undertake the task of decoration with such materials and genius as was available in the surrounding villages. An exhibition in which village arts and crafts were displayed, had just been opened and Gandhiji came to visit the stalls. When he entered the exhibition, Nanda Babu was there to receive him. Everything had not yet been completely arranged, and a few retouches yet remained to be made here and there. As Gandhiji entered the room, the first remark that he made, put the artist and his co-workers there almost to shame. Beneath one of the tables on which the exhibits had been arranged, there was a tin bucket which had been hurriedly shoved into a corner before the distinguished guest arrived. Gandhiji noticed the thing and remarked that it fitted very badly with the atmosphere of the place. It was, of course, immediately removed.

Nanda Babu accompanied Gandhiji as he moved from one table to another examining the exhibits carefully. It was indeed surprising to find him take such a keen interest at each of the objects, as well as about the men who had been responsible for their manufacture. But, within a few minutes time, Nanda Babu noticed that Gandhiji had become absent-minded and stood gazing at the earthen floor of the exhibition hall.

The hall had a thatch of leaves, which shut out the sky rather imperfectly. It was a bright, sunny day ; and the beams of sunlight which had made their way through the leaves succeeded in creating a playful pattern upon the dull grey of the earthen floor. Gandhiji stood gazing at this, and then broke the silence with the remark, "Nandalal, you cannot make anything approaching this, can you ?"

It was then that Nanda Babu realized in a flash how deep a sense of the beautiful Gandhiji carried in his bosom. It might have needed no outward form or symbol for its satisfaction, but it was there all the same. Perhaps its primary function was to transform Gandhiji's own life and character until it shone like a poem of great beauty and of epic grandeur.

It was only on very rare occasions that Gandhiji was ever called upon to express his views on art. But there did come such occasions, when he said all that was significant in his own judgement about this aspect of life. We can do no better than share with the reader a number of such passages as they will throw an unexpected light on this aspect of his thoughts.

There are two aspects of things—the outward and the inward. It is purely a matter of emphasis with me. The outward has no meaning except in so far as it helps the inward. All true art is thus the expression of the soul. The outward forms have value only in so far as they are the expression of the inner spirit in man. Art of that nature has the greatest appeal for me. But I know that many call themselves artists, and are recognised as such, and yet in their works there is absolutely no trace of the soul's upward urge and unrest.

All true art must help the soul to realize its inner self. In my own case, I find that I can do entirely without external forms in my soul's realization. My room may have blank walls ; and I may even dispense with the roof, so that I may gaze out upon the starry heavens overhead that stretch in an unending expanse of beauty. What conscious art of man can give me the panoramic scenes that open out before me, when I look up to the sky above with all its shining stars ? This, however, does not mean that I refuse to accept the value of productions of art, generally accepted as such but only that I personally feel how inadequate these are compared with the eternal symbols of

beauty in Nature. These productions of man's art have their value only so far as they help the soul onward towards self-realization.

All truths, not merely true ideas, but truthful faces, truthful pictures, or songs, are highly beautiful. People generally fail to see beauty in truth, the ordinary man runs away from it and becomes blind to the beauty in it. Whenever men begin to see beauty in truth, then true art will arise.

Truly beautiful creations come when right perception is at work. If these moments are rare in life they are also rare in art.—*Young India*, 13.11.24, p. 377.

True art takes note not only of form but also of what lies behind. There is an art that kills and an art that gives life. True art must be evidence of happiness, contentment and purity of its authors.—*Young India*, 11.8.21, p. 253.

We have somehow accustomed ourselves to the belief that art is independent of the purity of private life. I can say with all the experience at my command that nothing could be more untrue. As I am nearing the end of my earthly life I can say that purity of life is the highest and truest art. The art of producing good music from a cultivated voice can be achieved by many, but the art of producing that music from the harmony of a pure life is achieved very rarely.—*Harijan*, 19.2.38, p. 10.

KHARAVELA AS KING AND BUILDER

by B. M. SARUA

The name of Khāravela as the greatest monarch and ruler of Kalinga has been well-known since it was correctly read by Bhagawanlal Indraji and made out from the Hāthigumphā and Mañichapurī Cave Inscriptions. He does not stand alone as the donor of the caves on the twin hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri (Kumāri-Kumāra-parvatas) on the Khurdā Road, about two miles north-west from the Liṅgarāj Temple of Bhuvaneśwar in the district of Puri. There are other donors including his chief queen, king Kuḍepa, probably son and successor of Khāravela, prince Vaḍukha, the town-judge Bhūti, and others connected with Khāravela as his officers and personal attendants. The caves that do not bear any inscription may be treated as those donated by him. Two caves on the Khaṇḍagiri Hill containing the statues of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras appear to be later additions. The rest may be safely relegated to Khāravela's time. Altogether how many caves were excavated in Khāravela's time we cannot say. Those which are hitherto discovered and visible on the two hills are enough for our present purpose. On the summit of Khaṇḍagiri there is to be seen a square ground containing a few rows of small and low pillars of rude-hewn stone. These are apparently memorial stone-pillars and their number may be taken to indicate the number of distinguished Jaina saints who died while they were residing on the two hills and in their neighbourhood.

The "Namakkāra" formula of the Hāthigumphā Inscription is typically Jaina. None of the four symbols—the Crown (Vardhamāna), the Svastika, the Taurus (Nandipada) and the Railed-in-tree (Chaitya)—is distinctively a Jaina emblem. The supreme objects of veneration are the Arahants and Siddhas meaning the Tīrthaṅkaras who were the great

pioneers and founders of the Jaina religious order and school of thought.¹ The recluses for whom the caves were made are described as those who professed their faith in the Arahants.² Khāravēla is represented as a lay worshipper of the Ārhata saints who had completely exhausted the cause of gliding in the course of transmigration and fulfilled the ascetic vows.³ They were high personages well-established in the principles of piety and conduct, honoured, wise,—the revered ascetics and sages.⁴ Although the Ājīvikas too passed as Arahants or Ārhata, and as cave-dwellers, they do not appear to have been in view of the inscriptions of Khāravēla and his queen consort. The earlier inscriptions of Aśoka and Daśaratha go rather to prove that if the Ājīvikas were meant, they were distinctly mentioned as such. The occurrence of the word Nigamtha (Nirgrantha) would have decided once for all the case in favour of the Jaina recluses. In its absence the question is to be kept open until something decisive is forthcoming. If we decide the matter in favour of the Jainas, we have yet to answer the question concerning their sect. The Hāthigumphā Inscription seems to represent them as the Samghiyas⁵ who were "yāpujāvakas" ('yāpa-udyāpakas')⁶ during the rainy season. If these really mean a clue to their identity, it is possible to connect them with the adherents of a Yāpana-samgha.⁷

The purpose of the caves was the same as that of the 'kubhās' in the Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hill-caves dedicated by Aśoka and Daśaratha to the Ājīvikas, and it was to provide shelters for the saintly recluses who needed them during the rains ('vāsāsītāni varshāśritānam'). In the inscriptions other than the Hāthigumphā the caves are denoted

1. 'Bhagavati Sūtra' or 'Vijāha-pappatti', I. 1. 1.

2. Mañhehpuri Cave Inscription of Khāravēla's Chief Queen : 'Arahanta-pasādānam Kalirōgānam samanānam lenam kārītaṃ'. Wrongly read 'Arahanta-pasādāya', by R. D. Banerji.

3. Hāthigumphā Inscription, line 14 : 'arabate [hi] pakkhina-sapsitehi...chinavatinī

4. Ibid., line 15 : 'sakata-samana-suvihītānam'... 'ānānam tapasi-isina[m]'.
5. Ibid., line 15 : 'samghiyanam'.

6. Ibid., line 14 : 'yāpuj [ā] vakehi'.

7. The Yāpana or Yāpaniya Samgha is known as a Jaina sect whose distinctive characteristics connect them with the Śvetāmbaras rather than with the Digambaras. The inscription contains certain phraseologies, 'kalānāni' and the like, that are definitely Jaina.

by the word 'lena' (Sk. 'layana') and the fully equipped ones are said to have consisted of a 'pāsāda' (facade in the shape of an open-pillared verandah), 'koṭhā' (inner chamber or chambers in the shape of cubic cells), and 'jeyyā' (pent-roof in the shape of a fixed shelf).¹ In the Hāthigumphā Inscription itself they are called 'nisīdiyā' (line 15) and 'jivadeha-s(ā)yikā' (shelters for embodied souls).² They were expressly intended to serve as places for comfortable bodily rest.³ It is clearly stated that the caves were excavated for the accommodation of the Saṃghiya (Saṃghika) recluses, ascetics and sages hailing from a hundred (i. e. all) quarters.⁴ This laudable work was done in the thirteenth regnal year of Khāravela.

In the fourteenth year and as his last memorable work, Khāravela caused to be built at the cost of 75,00,000 a magnificent religious edifice which was provided with a beryl chamber (hall) with its quadrangular floor and painted ceiling⁵ and its walls partitioned by the best of artistic skill into sixty-four panels containing the peaceful scenes of music.⁶ And for this purpose stones had to be quarried out of select quarries and collected from a vast and extensive area ('varākara-samuthāpitāhi aneka-yojana-āhitāhi silāhi'). The edifice was erected on a slope—in the vicinity of the caves on the Kumārī Hill (Udayagiri) serving as retreat for the Arahants or Ārhatas ('Arahata-nisīdiyā-samīpe pabhāre').

1. Barua, 'Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri, and Khandagiri Caves'. Calcutta University, pp. 68 ff., revised edition in I. H. Q. XIV, pp. 281ff. R. D. Banerji makes out the word as 'ajeyyā' in the sense of "impregnable" (E. I., Vol. XIII, pp. 169 ff.)

2. Sāyika = Sk. 'śrāyika' meaning shelters. Here we are not to suppose that the caves were meant as sepulchres or resting places for dead bodies, an interpretation of 'Jivadeha sāvika' which is prevented by the fact that the caves were to accommodate the recluses needing shelter during the rainy season.

3. The reading is either 'Kayya' ('kalya')-nisīdiyā or kāya-nisīdiyā.

4. Hāthigumphā Inscription, line 15 : 'sakata-samana-suvibhūtaṇaṃ chasata-(sava) dīśānaṃ-saṃghiyānaṃ Arahata-nisīdivā'.

5. Ibid., line 16 : 'paṭālake chatara oha veḍuriya-gabhe 'thaṃbhe patiṭhāpayati'. This may be taken also to mean that there was a roofed quadrangle with its painted ceiling and colonnade of pillars apart from the beryl chamber.

6. Ibid., line 16 : 'mukhiya-kala-voḥhine oha choyaṭhi aṃge saṃtikam turiyam upādayati.

Evidently then the last mentioned work achieved by Khāravela in the world of religious architecture at an enormous cost stood apart from the rock-cut residential caves. To accomplish it choicest stones had to be procured as materials and the best available skill of art to be employed. The pithy description in his inscription places before us a clear idea of its costliness and a vivid picture of its magnitude and grandeur. The beryl hall with its colonnades of pillars was spacious enough to allow its walls to be bedecked with sixty-four panels, each presenting a piece of sculpture. As for its cost, 75,00,000, we can easily ascertain what was really meant. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has conclusively shown that "in early Buddhist works when any big sums of money are specified, no name of coin is adduced, that of 'kārshāpaṇa' being understood as is quite clear by its occasional mention. 'Kārshāpaṇa' was, therefore, looked upon as the standard coin."¹ Dr. V. S. Agrawala, too, has successfully established the same fact while commenting on Pāṇini's Sūtras, IV. 5. 135, V. 1. 27, V. 1. 29 and the 'Mahābhārata' expressions : 'ayaṃ sahasra-saṃmito vaiyāghraḥ' (Sabhā, 54. 4) and 'śatena nishka-gaṇitaṃ sahasreṇa ca saṃmitam' (Anuśāsana, 93. 437).² Thus the cost of the great erection amounted to 75,00,000 'Kārshāpaṇas' or punch-marked silver coins.

Unfortunately a portion of the description of the great edifice cannot be made out from the existing inscription³ and a portion is missing for good. Even from what now remains of it, it cannot be doubted that the memorable erection was a shrine or temple without any image installed in it. I went through the manuscript of a 'Purāṇa' in the possession of a local Pāṇḍā of Bhuvaneśwar in which the present Liṅgarāj Temple of the place is claimed to have been erected by Khāravela. I could not place any reliance on it as it seemed to me to be a modern composition. The manuscript is purchased for the Mayurbhanj State Library. One striking fact about the Liṅgarāj Temple is the absence

1. 'Ancient Indian Numismatics', Cal. University, p. 79.

2. 'Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute', Vol. XXI, pp. 297 f.

3. Probably the intended name for the edifice is 'cetiya'.

of any image or phallic symbol in its 'garbhagṛiha' or sanctum sanctorum. Be that as it may, it is undeniable that the edifice raised by Khāravēla stood as the prototype and precursor of the present temples of Bhuvaneśwar.

Among the larger caves on Udayagiri, four only, namely, the Mañchapurī, the Chhoṭa Hāthigumphā, the Jaya-Vijaya and the Rāṇigumphā, appear in the shape of buildings. Three of them (to the exclusion of the Chhoṭa Hāthigumphā) are two-storeyed. The Rāṇigumphā is the biggest of all the caves and the richest in its wealth of sculpture. The very first sculpture in this cave gives us a good idea of what was meant by the scenes of peaceful music artistically produced on the walls of the great temple. The Hāthigumphā description of the edifice is not applicable to the Rāṇigumphā for the simple reason that it is a rock-cut cave and not a construction of a large number of stones.

The names by which the caves are known are all modern. The inscriptions do not contain any such names. They are significant, nevertheless, inasmuch as they are intelligently devised to suggest what appear at first sight to be the distinctive features of the excavations to which they apply. The central cave on Udayagiri bearing Khāravēla's inscription is called Hāthigumphā from its frontal appearance with its hanging brow suggesting a sitting elephant. Another cave is called Chhoṭa Hāthigumphā for having before it in the courtyard two seated figures of young elephants. The upper storey of the cave donated by Khāravēla's chief queen is appropriately called Mañchapurī and the corresponding lower storey donated by king Kuṇḍapa Pātālapurī. A small cave bears the name of Vyāghragumphā for its frontal appearance is a tiger-face with its gaping mouth and distended jaws. The caves called Sarpagumphā, Ajāgaragumphā and Bhekagumphā have for their cognizances respectively a snake-hood, the figure of a boa constrictor, and the frontal face of a frog. The elephant, the tiger, the cobra, the boa constrictor and the frog are apparently the denizens of the hills on which the caves were excavated. The figures show that they were produced at ease and thus bear evidence to an advanced state of the stone-cutter's art in Orissa. The name of Mañchapurī (Heavenly Abode) is suggested not only

by the fact of its applying to the upper storey of the cave concerned but by a frieze containing a lively picture of a flying Vidyādhara on the wall of its verandah.

The Jaya-Vijaya¹ cave on the slope of Udayagiri and on the left side of the Rāṇigumphā derives its name from the standing figure of its two sentinels wearing high boots, each of them being therefore, the typical Sun-god. The name of Rāṇigumphā is devised for the other cave guarded by a similar sentinel since it appears at its first sight and from its architectural design, sculptural decoration, quadrangular courtyard and size to have been a residence for a queen. Similarly the name of Anantagumphā is applied to a small cave on Khaṇḍagiri on account of the fact that the outer side of its door bears the figure of two crawling serpents facing opposite directions. It might as well have been called the Sūryagumphā on account of its having for its distinctive feature a noteworthy sculptural representation of the Sun-god driven in a chariot drawn by seven horses. The modernity of the names is evident from the name, Durgāgumphā, devised for a cave on Khaṇḍagiri having at its entrance a figure of Durgā which is an addition of recent times.

The residential caves and the great shrine are the excavations and erection in which Khāravela and his wife and family were personally interested as lay worshippers of the Arahants and lay supporters of the Ārhata recluses. Consistent with his principle of religious toleration, Khāravela caused the 'devāyatanas' (Hwen Thsang's 'Deva temples') to be repaired. These abodes of the gods and demi-gods must have been popular places of worship other than the Jaina shrines (chaityas); they were 'Hindu temples' as we now call them. As may be ascertained from literary and monumental evidences, these old-world sanctuaries mostly consisted of the Yaksha and Nāga shrines. The pantheon must have included in it Śrī (Lakṣmī of the Hāthigumphā Inscription), and Śiva

¹ Jaya and Vijaya are the legendary door-keepers of Vaikunṭhapurī or the paradisaical city of Viṣṇu.

and Viṣṇu among others. The very first work of importance done by Khāravela since his coronation as the great king of Kalinga and in the first year of his reign was the thorough repair of the capital city called Khibīra, and of all its residential and religious buildings, parks and gardens, including the banks of its famous Rishitāla Tank (Isitāla-taḍāga-pāḍiyo). The gate-houses and walls (gopura-pākāra) mentioned in this connection are to be associated as much with some of the residential buildings as with the temples in the city. The gate-houses and gate-towers containing the figurines of the goddess of Luck in their niches (Jaṭhara-lakhila-gopurāṇi siharāṇi) erected in the twelfth regnal year at the cost of a hundred visikās (measures or coins of gold and silver) are significant as proving the existence of what was later to become the South Indian style of temple architecture terminology, in the capital of Kalinga.

In addition to these works of piety, Khāravela caused to be built in his 9th regnal year a new royal palace by the name of "The Great Victory Palace" (Mahāvijaya-pāsāda) at the cost of 38,00,000 (Kārshāpaṇas), while the work of repair of the capital city cost him 35,00,000 (Kārshāpaṇas). Thus the cost of erection of the great shrine (75,00,000) was a little less than the double of that of the palace, a fact which eloquently speaks of the preponderance of religious architecture over secular and semi-secular (residential and sepulchral) in royal as well as popular estimation of the age. Evidently the new royal palace was built on the two banks of a stream called Prachī (Prāchī: 'ubhaya-Prachī-taṭe').¹ This palace had, like other royal palaces, the Vaijayanta Palace of Indra for its heavenly prototype, and its very name is suggestive of this fact.

If such be Khāravela's historical position as a builder, it may be worth while to reconsider his position as an Indian monarch and ruler. He is represented in his Hāthigumphā Inscription of 17 lines as well as in that of his chief queen as a paramount sovereign of Kalinga. To all

1. See the plate, section I in 'Select Inscriptions' edited by D. C. Sircar, Vol. I, Cal. University, between pp. 208 and 209.

appearance, Kalinga of his time is the same country as that which was conquered and annexed by Aśoka in the latter half of the third century B. C. in about 251 B. C. Kalinga was known to Aśoka as a country which remained unconquered and independent before the 8th year of his reign (R. E, XIII). It is roughly co-extensive with the modern province of Orissa if we judge it by its extension along the sea-coast from the river Vaitaraṇī in the north-east to the Lāṅguliya in the south-west. Its ancient traditional capital, known as Dantapura (Dantagula, Dantakura, Pālura), was situated in the south, near about Chicacole, while in Aśoka's time Tosali (Dhauli) became the headquarters of the northern or major division and Samāpā in the district of Ganjam that of the southern or minor division of the province. In Khāravēla's time the capital of Kalinga was Khibīra (Kalinganagari-Khibīra ; line 3), a name having a verbal affinity with Khiching, Khijinga of the Bhanja copper-plates in the state of Mayurbhanj. It cannot be located far in the south, even anywhere in the district of Ganjam. It had its connection with a river near it by a canal opened up three hundred years¹ back by a king called Nanda ('Nanda-rāja-oghāṭita'). It was brought into the heart of this capital by its further extension from the Tanasuliya Road (Tanasuliya-vāṭā). The name of this road is Oḍiyā, and it seems to have been a local name for the Tosali Road. From the location of the new royal palace, it appears that the capital was situated on the banks of a stream then as now known by the name of Prācī.² The city had within it the famous tank called Isitāla-taḍāga mentioned in the Jaina 'Bṛihat Kalpasūtra' ascribed to Bhadrabāhu³ and placed in the Śailapura city of the territory of Tosali, the major or northern division of Aśoka's province of

1. The expression 'tri-vasa-sata' may be taken also to mean one hundred and three years. But normally it stands for three hundred years, cf. 'Mahābhārata', ii. 15. 136 : 'tribhir varaha-satair balam.'

2. Mr. Paramananda Acharya, Superintendent of Archaeology, Mayurbhanj State, writes to me to say that there is a river called Prācī on the northern part of the Puri district showing many temples in ruins on its both banks. It flows southwards within five or six miles east from the Līṅgarāja Temple.

3. This is really a much later composition attributed to Bhadrabāhu who is said to have flourished in the time of Chandragupta Maurya.

Kaliṅga. Thus seen, the Tosali area could not but be the outer zone of the city of Khibīra, a local non-Aryan equivalent of Śailapura¹ just as Khichingā may be that of Śailaśringa. Like Khibīra, the name of the city, the personal names of Khāravela, Kuḍepa and Vaḍukha seem quite alien and outlandish to the world of Sanskrit unless they be respectively the dialectical equivalent of the Pali Kālaveḷa² and the Sanskrit Kudeva and Vaṭuka.

Khāravela is extolled as a great scion of the Cheta or Cheti race which could boast of a long line of royal sages, may be from Vasu (Uparichara).³ He is connected with the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty and represented as the third king in the direct line of the royal family of Kaliṅga.⁴ His chief queen was the daughter of one king Lalāka of Hathisāha,⁵ of a neighbouring but hitherto unknown territory. It appears that this queen and her two sons, the elder king Kuḍepa and the younger prince Vaḍukha, cooperated in completing the Mañchapurī group of caves. We have no record as yet of Khāravela to take us beyond the 14th year

1. 'Bṛihat Kalpasūtra', edited by Chaturvijaya and Punyavijaya, Shri Atmansada Jain Granth Ratnamala Serial No. 84, Vol. III, p. 863, verses 3149-3150:

Tosali viśae—

'Śailapure Isitālgammi hoti aṭṭhāhiyā mahāmahimā' | Saṃghadāsaṃgāḥi's comm: 'Tosali viśaya Śailapure nagare Rishitaḍḍagaṃ nāma sarah. Tatra varāhe varāhe bhūyān loko' aṭṭhāhikāmahimāṃ karoti'.

This goes to prove that Khāravela's capital Khibīra was just a local non-Aryan word for Śailapura ('kbi = śalla', hill, hilly, 'bīra = pura' ?), and the Rishitaḍḍaga was a sacred tank in Tosali like the Gayā Tank mentioned by Buddhaghosa (Papañcha-sūdanī, i. p. 178). According to the 'Bṛihat Kalpasūtra', the Rishi Taḍḍaga of Śailapura in Tosali was a sacred lake like tank to which the people of Kaliṅga, if not of India, came annually in large numbers for the purpose of bathing and performing the 'aṭṭhāhikā' (Pali 'aṭṭhakā' Sk. 'ashtakā') ceremony in the interest of the deceased ancestors.

Bindu Sarovar on the north side of the Liṅgarāj Temple of Bhuvaneśwar took evidently the place of the Rishi Taḍḍaga of old as the sacred tank, while the ancient tank itself may be confidently identified with the big tank now known as Kausalyā Gaṅgā, the biggest in the locality, which is now completely silted up and lies at a distance of about two miles south-east from the Liṅgarāj Temple. The annual congregation of pilgrims and visitors assumed the form of a large 'melā' or fair.

2. 'Mahāvamśa', ix. 22.

3. K. P. Jaysawal reads—'rājasi-Vasu-kula-viniśrito'. I read 'rājasiya[m]sa-kula-viniśrito'.

4. Tatiya Kaliṅga-rājavamśe purisa-yoga'.

5. Acc. to R. D. Banerjee's reading, of king Lalāka, grandson of Hathisāha (Hastisimpha).

of his reign or any literary tradition to tell us anything about the royal dynasty after Kuṇḍepa.

Khāravela's time may be determined on the following data of chronology :

1. Close resemblance of the rhythmical prose diction of the Hāthigumphā Inscription with that of the Pali 'Milindapañha' to be dated in 500 B. E. (ca. A. D. 17), say the 1st century.

2. close palaeographic similarity between this inscription and the Nānāghāt Cave Inscriptions of the time of Śātakarṇi I ;

3. first rise of the Āndhra-Śātakarṇis placed by the Purāṇas immediately after the fall of the Kāṇvāyana-Śuṅgabhṛityas and 304 years from the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession, say in 29 B. C. (323-294) ;

4. contemporaneity of Khāravela with one Śātakarṇi, say Śātakarṇi I¹ whose territory was by-passed by the former when he had marched west to terrorise the city of Asika from the bank of the river Kaṇhabemṇā (Kṛishṇā) ;

5. contemporaneity of Khāravela with Bahasatimita (Bṛihaspati-mitra), king of Magadha, better Aṅga-Magadha, who is probably mentioned as the nephew of king Āshāḍhasena of Ahichchhatrā in one of the Pabhosā Cave Inscriptions ;

6. contemporaneity of Khāravela with a Greco-Bactrian ruler (Yavana-rājā) whose name appears to be (H) i (ra) mavo² corresponding to Heramayo (Greek Ermaiou) of the legend on the coins of Hermaios (ca. A. D. 20-30), and not Dimita as made out by Dr. Sten Konow and identified with Demetrios, son of Euthydemos.

7. posteriority of the sculptures in the caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri to those of the Bharhut and earlier Bodhgayā stone-railings from the chronological as well as the stylistic point of view.

1. (A. D. 4-14) according to the Purāṇas. Pargiter, 'Dynasties of the Kali Age', pp. 70-71.

2. The name as now made out by me consists of four letters and the last two letters are definitely 'mavo' or 'mevo'. See D. C. Sircar's Plate, section II.

It goes without saying that all the above data of chronology point to one and the same conclusion, namely, that Khāravela's reign began and probably also ended in the first quarter of the first century A. D. It is in vain that Jayaswal has tried to identify the Magadha ruler Bṛihaspatimitra with Pushyamitra who is known as the traditional founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. The Greco-Bactrian king Demetrios must be ruled out of court not only because his name does not occur in Khāravela's inscription but also on the ground that his activities remained confined to the western side of the Sulaiman range. The Purāṇa list of the Śuṅga kings is altogether misleading. It is very strange indeed that the Purāṇas take no notice of the several Mitra kings who find mention in inscriptions and on coins. The word 'mitra' is invariably a surname-like part of their personal names, but this is not the case with all the Śuṅgas mentioned in the Purāṇas. We must at once liquidate the business of the Senānī Pushyamitra as the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty which supplanted the Maurya if he were the same personage as Marshall Pushyamitra of the Ayodhyā Stone Inscription of Dhanada or Dhanadeva. Here Pushyamitra is introduced as a performer of two horse-sacrifices, and, Dhanada-Dhanadeva,¹ the ruler of Kosala and son of Phalgudeva, as the sixth man in descent from the illustrious Marshall (Senāpatiḥ).² Thus 'mitra' is not the common surname-like appendage to all the names. The pure Sanskrit diction of the record and its Brāhmī letter-forms cannot but connect it with an age which witnessed the production of Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of A. D. 150. The discovery of an inscription representing any Indian monarch as the performer of a horse-sacrifice save and except about the beginning of the Christian era and later is unexpected. If the performance of a horse-sacrifice by a Pushyamitra were mentioned by Patañjali he should be placed after Christ. On other grounds Dr. D. C. Sircar feels himself

1. The fourth letter alone is really missed.

2. The above interpretation of the expression 'Senāpateḥ Pushyamitraśaśaśṭhena Kauśiki-putraṇa' is justified by the Purāṇa statement: 'Agnimitraḥ sūtaś chāśṭau' meaning Agnimitra and his eight descendants. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 31.

justified in placing the present text of the 'Mahābhāṣya' somewhere in the second century A. D.¹

Among the earlier Mitras, Bṛihaspatimitra was definitely a rival and contemporary of Khāravela's. If Bahasatimita of the Hāthigumphā Inscription, represented as the king of Magadha (Māgadha rājā), be one and the same ruler as Bahasatimita of the Pabbosā Cave Inscription, represented as nephew of king Āśhādhasena of Ahichchhatrā, as seems most likely², the relevancy of the mention of his name presumably lay in the fact that the cave was excavated by his maternal uncle within his dominion.³ The case in point is afforded by the Bharhut East Gateway Inscription in which the donor, king Dhanabhūti, had to mention the name of the Śuṅga territory, inasmuch as the place where the erection was made was situated within it (Suganam raje). The donor himself, as may be inferred from some of the Mathurā Inscriptions, belonged to the Mathurā region which abutted on the Śuṅga territory. Similarly in the other instance, Ahichchhatrā and Mitra dominions were neighbouring but independent territories.

Bṛihaspatimitra as king of Magadha or Aṅga-Magadha had at least two predecessors, namely, Brahmamitra whose queen Nāgadevī donated

1. D. C. Sircar, 'Indian Historical Quarterly', Vol. XV (1939), ff. 633. Dr. Sircar's real position is that Patañjali himself was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra-Śuṅga, but his work, the original 'Mahābhāṣya', was revised and enlarged later by early grammarians of his own school. The 2nd Century date for the extant form of the work (which is not earlier than the 2nd century A. D.), is based on such facts as : (1) reference to the Śakas and Yavanas (Greeks) as two foreign peoples who became Hinduised and counted as the best among the Śūdras of the time (Comm : Pāṇini, II. 4. 10) ; (2) reference to a fully developed form of the Vyūha-doctrine of the Sātvatas which is not traceable in any pre-Christian Indian inscription. The grammatical example, 'Iha Puṣyamitram yājāyāmah', has been quoted from the work of an earlier poet who "wrote after the epic legend of Sagara and his sons had become quite famous." In the opinion of L. de la Vallée Poussin ('L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas', etc., pp. 199f.), "Patañjali was later and probably much later than the middle of the 2nd century before the (Christian) era."

2. There is a close affinity between the two inscriptions as regards their language and palaeography.

3. The occurrence of the proper name Udāka without the suffix correctly made out as yet in the Pabbosā Cave Inscription on the rock outside creates a difficulty when it is taken to denote the fifth Śuṅga ruler of the Purāṇas. Obviously the mention of another unconnected ruler in the record is not necessary, and Udāka, like Khalatika of Aśoka's Third Barabar Hill Cave Inscription, may be treated as the name of the rock : Udāka (si), Kha (latikasi).

an important pillar of the old Bodhgayā stone-railing and Indrāgnimitra whose elderly queen Kuraṅgī largely donated this particular erection in the country and kingdom of Magadha. The very first pillar of the Bharhut outer stone-railing was similarly donated by Chāpādevī, wife of Revatīmitra, evidently a prince of the Mitra royal house of Vidiśā. These Mitras were not Buddhists by their religious faith, although tolerant enough to allow their wives to donate Buddhist foundations. But none of them is extolled as a performer of a horse-sacrifice. The performance of a horse-sacrifice gained in prominence in the Indian inscriptions under the influence of the Great Epic legends in its later redaction.

The Hāthigumphā Inscription not only refers to a Nanda King (Naṃdarāja) who had opened a canal from the Tanasuliya Road to connect it with a river near by some three hundred years (in a round figure) before the regular reign of Khāravela but affords us a clue to his connection with the kingdom of Magadha or Aṅga-Magadha along with his suzerainty over Kalinga. Immediately after the statement concerning the fact of subduing the Magadha king Bṛhaspatimitra and before that concerning the riches brought from Aṅga-Magadha there occurs a statement which was read by Jayaswal as : 'Naṃdarāja-nītaṃ cha Kā(lim)ga-Jina-saṃnivesaṃ' and taken to mean that Khāravela brought back to Kalinga the Jina image of Kalinga which was taken away by the Nanda king. This is unacceptable now, because, first of all, the word 'saṃnivesa' never means an image, and, secondly, the reading is wrong. The third letter of the word read as 'Kāliṅga' is other than ga ; it is clearly 'ta' and more accurately 'tu(m)'. One must read 'Naṃdarājani-taṃ cha Kā(lim)ga' as 'Na(m)darāja-ninhavaṃ cha(kā)tup'. For the combined letter to be now read 'nha', we have to compare it with that in the word Kanhabemṇā in line 4¹.

Khāravela did something very important in Magadha in the interests of the Nanda royal line, although what was actually done cannot be clearly made out ;² it is just to be imagined or conjectured from the trend

1. D. C. Sircar's Plate, Section II.

2. After two or three letters we get four letters that have been and can be read as 'saṃ nivesa'.

of the statement as a whole in connection with Khāravela's north-western campaign in his twelfth regnal year, and it is quite reasonable to surmise that he reinstated the Nanda (i.e., Maurya) line in the sovereignty of Magadha. If so, it must have been from the hand of a ruler of that newly set up line that Marshall Pushyamitra seized the sovereignty and founded a later and irregular form of Mitra dynasty,—irregular in the sense that the names of all its kings had not the surname-like 'mitra' for their indispensable adjunct. This conjecture, if correctly made, can well explain why Marshall Pushyamitra became so keenly interested in performing a horse-sacrifice. The performance of the second horse-sacrifice on his part signalises the recovery of his position which was probably endangered by a Yavana invasion of his territory from the Punjab and Mathurā region. If there were an earlier Pushyamitra who became the founder of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty, he must be treated as Pushyamitra I. The history of the kingdom of Magadha between Brīhaspatimitra and the Imperial Guptas is yet to be written. The hiatus may perhaps be satisfactorily filled in by the career of the Sehāpati Pushyamitra and his successors.

Khāravela arose in the wake of the Great Epic idea of 'digvijaya' meaning the periodical military expedition on the part of men of the warrior race and 'dharmavijaya' which consisted in subduing weaker rulers, exacting tribute, collecting riches and obtaining presents but not in depriving them of their territories. There is no instance on record in which any territory was permanently annexed to the kingdom of Kalinga. Khāravela's was a meteoric career. What to think of this that he felt proud to be represented in his famous epigraph as a mighty warrior who possessed the quality, capacity and equipment for plundering and looting the whole of India, traditionally the earth extending as far as to the four seas ('chaturamta-luṭhana-guṇa-upeta'). How far was this consistent with his pious Jaina faith is still a riddle of the Sphinx. So far only that he is nowhere represented as a warrior with military zeal who meant wanton destruction and annexation of any territory, abduction of women and raping. He just marched with his large and well-equipped army,—horses, elephants, chariots and foot-soldiers, knocked at the gates of important cities in the north and south, besieged

them and triumphantly returned with riches and booties for increasing the wealth of his State and spending it for the joy and happiness of his people, for giving them all manner of reliefs, for granting them exemptions of all kinds,¹ for entertaining them with all kinds of varieties amusements and exciting games and sports, for enriching and improving the art and architecture of his country, and for advancing the cause of the progress of his country's culture and civilization. The performance of a Rājasūya or Aśvamedha sacrifice and the holding of a Durbar on such an occasion was foreign to his idea. His showy and ostentatious nature found its satisfaction just in making displays of the signs of his royal glory and prosperity ('rājaseyaṃ saṃdamsayaṃto'). The liveliness and zeal of his dynamic and fluid character were manifest in all spheres of his activities. And, upon the whole, it may be said that historically his reign and career, methods and policies formed a very remarkable transition between the unostentatious but educative Dharmavijaya career of Aśoka and the pompous, ostentatious and awe-inspiring Digvijayas alias Dharmavijayas, of later days.

Khāravela emulated the fame of the Magadha king Aśoka both as a builder and a ruler who honoured and helped all sects ('savapāsaṃḍa-pūjaka'). I have also sought to maintain that the Nanda king who is credited with the opening up of the Tanasuliya Road Canal is Aśoka, and not Mahāpadma Nanda, and the main reason for it is that Kalinga was altogether an unconquered and independent country before Aśoka (R. E. XIII). The Nanda king cannot be treated as a local chief of Kalinga in view of the fact that as appears from Khāravela's inscription, his main connection was with the kingdom of Magadha. The interval of time (300 years in a round figure) between him and Khāravela is rightly applicable to Aśoka.

Near about the time of Patañjali, author of the 'Mahābhāṣya', there

1. I find that Jayaswal's reading of *sava-gaḥaṇaṃ cha kārayitum brāhmaṇānaṃ jāti-parihāraṃ dadāti* is to be preferred, to my 'jaya parihāraṃ'. Cf. 'sava jāta-parihārikā, sabba-jāti-parihāra, sava-parihārahi', and 'sarva-kara-parihāraṃ' in D. O. Sircar's 'Select Inscriptions', Vol. I, pp. 192 ff., 406 ff., 435 ff., 406.

were some degenerate Maurya rulers who "devised the expedient of replenishing their royal coffers by the selling of images of three gods called Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha,—the images that were being sold in his time for the purpose of worship "(Comment on Pāṇini's aphorism, V. 3. 99). "Of the tree gods, the first finds mention in the 'Arthaśāstra', and the first two in the Jaina 'Jñātādbarmakathā Sūtra' (as also in the Jaina 'Aupapātika Sūtra')".¹ If these Mauryas be supposed to have been the rulers who came into existence since the reinstatement of the Nanda (Maurya) line by Khāravela, the information supplied by Patañjali becomes easily intelligible. The 'Arthaśāstra' as a 'Sūtrā-bhāṣya' Sanskrit treatise on royal polity by Viṣṇugupta deserves to be considered as a literary production of the reign of Pushyamitra II and the Nandarājā who fell by his political weapon as a late Nanda (Maurya) ruler ousted for good by this very Pushyamitra.

From the record of the 7th regnal year, it is evident that when Khāravela led his north-western campaign and besieged the city of Rājagriha (modern Rājgir in South Behār), the Greco-Bactrian ruler Hermaios marched south-east with his army and armaments from Uttarāpatha (Punjab) through Mathurā for an encounter with him in the very heart of Magadha. The retreat of the latter to Mathurā may be treated as a fact in evidence of the existence or continuance of the Greco-Bactrian suzerainty over the place. The record of the 12th regnal year goes to prove that Khāravela had to take heed of his rivals in the north-west region, the rulers of Uttarāpatha (Uttarāpatharājāno) before he could think of safely dealing with the then ruler of Magadha.

As for the extension of his power in the south, it is clear from the fact that the contemporary king of Pāṇḍya (Pamḍa-rājā) was compelled to send him valuable presents in the shape of pearls, gems, jewels and rich apparel of various patterns. The southern extension of his kingdom of Kaliṅga, too, can be easily inferred from the fact of inclusion in it

1. Barua, 'The Arthaśāstra': 'A Blend of Old and New' in the 'Bhārata-Kaumudī', Vol. I, pp 115, 116.

of a place called Pithuḍa or Pithuḍaga, probably the same as Pihuḍa, a town near the sea-coast which finds mention in the Jaina 'Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra', may be near about the river Lāṅgala, modern Lāṅguliya, and no less of a big marshy area called Tamira-daha or Tramira-daha whose modern identity seems to be preserved in the name of Tamrihaṇḍ at a south-east corner of the Eastern Patna States to the north-west of the district of Ganjam.

THE COLOSSAL BUDDHAS AT BĀMIYĀN

by BENJAMIN ROWLAND JR.

Certainly the most impressive feature of the religious establishment at Bāmiyān are the two giant statues of Buddhas that look out from vast niches across the deserted valley. At the east of the great cliff is the smaller of the two colossi which the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang identified as Śākyamuni (Fig. 1). It must at that time have been the principle cult image of a large monastic community: surrounding the niche of the Buddha and connected with it and with one another by a system of galleries and staircases are the chapels and lecture halls where the monks carried on their religious routine.

Around the top of the niche of the big statue are painted the Seven Buddhas of the Past (including Śākyamuni), and Maitreya, the Messiah; on the soffit of the vault is the wellknown fresco of a sun god in his chariot, a solar symbol of the Buddha or Maitreya that I have discussed at length elsewhere.¹ The conception of the smaller colossus at Bāmiyān and the paintings that surround it is already that of a 'maṇḍala' in an embryonic stage. The main image can definitely be identified as Śākyamuni from Hsüan-tsang's description mentioned above, but, as the size of the statue alone indicates, this is no longer Śākyamuni, the mortal teacher of the primitive religion, but a vast magnification, almost twenty times the size of a man, a superhuman being, a 'Lokottara': "Nothing in the fully enlightened Buddha is comparable to anything in the

1. Rowland, B., "Buddha and the Sun God", *Zalmoxis*, I, 1938.



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world, but everything connected with these great sages is supramundane.¹ The vast size of the images at Bāmiyān is meant to suggest the immeasurable dimensions of the Buddha Lokottara: they point in a direct way the moral contained in Hsüan-tsang's story of the Brahmin who doubted that the Buddha was sixteen feet high and, on endeavouring to measure the Master's stature, found it continually growing beyond the lengths of his yard stick and although the Brahmin climbed ever upward the lord at last overtopped the highest mountain.² It is precisely this docetic theory of the nature of Buddha that is a contribution of the Lokottaravādins of Bāmiyān to later Mahāyāna doctrine: Hsüan-tsang tells us, speaking of the community at Bāmiyān, "There are ten convents and about 1000 priests. They belong to the Little Vehicle and the school of the Lokottaravādins".³ What has survived of the decoration around the top of the niche of the 120 foot Buddha—the Sun God, together with the seven Buddhas and Maitreya—is the most usual Hinayāna iconography. Even in Early Buddhism, judging from Hsüan-tsang's account, giant images of Buddha were not unusual.⁴

However, in addition to the paintings around the head of the Buddha, a few fragments of frescoes lower down on the sides of the niche indicate that once the entire alcove was decorated with rows of seated Buddhas. This whole vast scheme was conceived directly in relation to the statue of the Buddha who stands like an axis, a Mount Meru, between heaven and earth: that such a conception of the Buddha as the very pole of the cosmos was intended is further suggested in

1. Thomas, E. I., 'History of Buddhist Thought', New York, 1933, p. 174. On the term 'Lokottaravādin', see also Watters, T., 'On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India', London, 1904, p. 117. What would seem to be a late, "material", and definitely untraditional attitude toward the making of such giant statues might be found in the 'Ratnakūṭasūtra' (T. 310, LXXXIX. See 'Hobogirin', III, p. 213 b.): "O Bhagavat, en fabriquant une image du Tathāgata, haute de quatre doigts on s'acquiert des mérites incalculables, combien plus inconcevable le mérite d'en faire une grande comme le Sumeru." By "untraditional" I mean that there is no indication of any understanding of the fundamental idea in making a colossus to imply the identification of the Buddha with the primordial governing axis or pole of the world and the suggestion, by size alone, that he is the universe and coextensive with it like the ancient Puruṣa. The iconography of the Bāmiyān images, as will be shown, indicates that these ideas were not entirely lost.

2. Kramrisch, St., "Emblems of the Universal Being," JISOA, 1935, III, 2, p. 150.

3. Beal, S., 'Buddhist Records of the Western World', New York, London, 1906, I, p. 50.

4. Ibid. I, pp. 21 and 134.

the painting of the Sun on the "sky" which is the vault over the head of the image and as though "supported" by it. The conception is already that of Śākyamuni as the transcendent ruler of the universe, and yet it is through him, the Buddha, who once walked on earth—or appeared to do so—that all these immortal Buddhas of the Ten Worlds are accessible.¹ With reference to the multiple images of Buddha that once decorated the walls of the enormous niche, it may be pointed out that the Lokottaravādins initiated the idea of the Buddha's power of sending out replicas of himself : these fictitious apparitions are called 'paropaharas' or 'nirmitas'—the latter perhaps related to 'Nirmāṇa Kāya'.

This is a concept on which is built much of the transcendental mechanism of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka.²

1. Mus, P., 'Barabudur', Hanoi, 1935, p. 544. "un culte s'adressant aux Tathāgata abstraits à travers la personne ou la statue du Buddha historique." Ibid. p. 546, "Le Buddha historique, ou plutôt son corps glorieux...a multiplié sa personne à tous les points du compas." "Le Buddha prêchant s'égalé pour un temps aux Tathāgatas des dix régions de l'espace."

This seems to present already fully developed the Mahāyāna concept of the unity of the multiple Buddhas in the transcendent person of Śākyamuni : 'ichi butsu issai butsu'. (Cf. 'Hobogirin', p. 194).

2. Shastri, H. P., 'Introduction to the Advayaśāstra-saṃgraha', Gaekwad's Oriental Series XL p. xviii. See also Senart, E., 'Le Mahāvastu', Paris, 1882. I, p. 181, 1. 9 (p. 520n.) and p. 206.

3. 'Taisō Issaikyo', 262, Vol. IX, p. 32 c, col. 4-3 from end : "The moment has come to assemble here all the Buddhas (which I) produced by dividing my body (Jap., 'bunshin'), and who teach the law in the ten regions of space." The 'bunshin' or 'kebutsu' are creations of the Buddha's mind, replicas indivisible from his substance which he has created in all worlds : "Therefore, Mahāpratibhāna, have I made many Tathāgata-frames which in all quarters, in several Buddha-fields in thousands of worlds, preach the law to creatures. All those ought to be brought here (Kern, p. 231); or (Mus, p. 602), "C'est pour cela, o Mahāpratibhāna, qu'il va falloir que je réunisse ici toutes les formes de Tathāgata (tathāgatāvīśrāha) que j'ai moi-même miraculeusement créées (sic) de mon corps et qui, dans les dix points de l'espace, enseignent la loi aux créatures, chacune dans des terres de Buddha distinctes, dans des milliers d'univers". Miss Antoinette Hednott has kindly furnished me the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts. (Kern, text, p. 242. 11, Wogihara and Tsuchida, p. 209. 26) : "I tan maya'pi Mahāpratibhāna bahavas 'tathāgatāvīśrahā nirmitā' ye dāśasu dikṣu anyonyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu loka-dhātū-sahasreṣu sathvānāṃ dharmāṃ desayanti te sarve khalu ih'ānāyitavyā bhaviṣyanti"; the Tibetan equivalent for the term in question is (Follo, 106a 5, small), "de-lzhi-gsegs-pa-hi-gzugs".

A good example of the use of this term, 'bunshin', almost as an equivalent of 'kebutsu' may be found in the 'Jorurijodohyo' ('Hobogirin', Taisō index, 929) : Komura, "Horyūji kondo hekiga no mēdal ni tsuite", 'Rijutsu to Shiseki', no. 70, p. 513. See also the 'Kettokudenteroku', Nanjio, 1524 and 'utai', "Seiganiji" : "Dai bosatsu...obiko no kage hiroku ga, ittai bunshin arawarete, shujo sado no go honzon nari". In an unpublished fresco at Tun-huang that evidently represents this moment in the 'Saddharma-puṇḍarīka', just before the opening of the miraculous stūpa, small images of Buddhas are seen in a swarm around the head of the central Śākyamuni. The term, 'bunshin', could be used here as it is in Japan to designate these emanations that are more usually described as (Jap.) Kebutsu; (Skr.) 'Nirmāṇa Buddha'.

Of peculiar interest and significance for the character of the Buddhism that flourished at Bāmiyān is Hsüan-tsang's description of the smaller colossus : this sentence has been translated by Beal, "It has been cast in different parts and joined together, and thus placed in a completed form as it stands".¹ The same interpretation has been given by Watters and the latest translator, M. Pelliot.² A fact that seems to have been overlooked by these writers is that the two characters, (Chinese) 'fên shên' (Jap.) 'bunshin', form what is a regular compound in Buddhist terminology and designate the smaller Buddhas or emanations of the universal Buddha as seen on the haloes of innumerable Japanese statues of all periods.³ Read in this way the passage takes on a totally different meaning : "The 'Nirmāṇa' (divided-bodies-of Buddha) 'Buddhas' have been separately cast and joined together." It has always been difficult to reconcile the translation of 't'u-shi' as "brass" or "bronze" with the obvious stone and mud figure that has survived to the present day.⁴ If we accept the alternate translation of 'bunshin', it is easy to imagine that smaller images in metal were attached somewhere about the colossus. Since there is no room for them, nor any evidence that such attachments

1. Beal, p. 51.

2. Watters, T., 'On Yüan Chwang's Travels in India', London, 1904, p. 118. Pelliot, P., 'Mémoires de Hsuan-tsang, Notice sur Bamiyan', Paris, 1934, p. 55, and in Hackin, J. and Godard, A. and Y., 'Les Antiquités Buddhiques de Bamiyan', Paris, 1928, p. 80.

3. In vulgar Japanese this combination of characters means parturition ; they embody the same suggestion of the "division of the body" that is implied in the Buddhist sense. The possibility of the translation "emanations" or 'Nirmāṇa Buddhas' has been suggested by Professor Ono Gemmyo in his commentary on Hsüan-tsang's Memoirs, ('Kokuyaku Issaikyo', 'Shidenbu', XVI, p. 65 n. 21). Takakusu ('Taisho Issaikyo', LXI, p. 2087) retains the old reading of these characters. Cf. an inscription of 776 from Tun-huang, (Chavannes, 'Dix Inscriptions Chinoises de l'Asie Centrale, Mémoires Présentées par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres', 1892. Tome XI, Pt. 2, p. 62). E. Chavannes (p. 73) translates this, "les mille Buddhas divisent leurs corps se rassemblent et se réalisent dans les mondes (nombreux comme des grains) de sable" ; this might also be rendered as, "the emanations of the thousand Buddhas gathered and manifested themselves in the worlds numerous as grains of sand".

4. In the 'Life of Hsuan-tsang', however, (Beal, S., London 1911, p. 53) the statue is described as "a standing figure of Śākya, made of calamine stone, (or covered with brass plates)". In Group E at Bāmiyān, there is a roughly shaped stone foundation or armature of a seated image : the now completely flat surface is pitted with deep holes intended for wooden pegs to hold in place either a clay or metal shell. Watters (p. 119) translates 't'u-shi' as "bronze".

ever existed inside the niche, it might be possible to conjecture that they were fastened around the outside of the cave. Professor Ono Gemmyo in his book on Mahāyāna art, insists that the "bunshinkebutsu" were "separately cast" and attached to the halo of the image,¹ and proposes a comparison with the Daibutsu of Todaiji (Nara) and the Roshana (Vairocana Buddha) of Toshodaiji.²

The larger of the two colossi at Bāmiyān is housed in an enormous cusped niche at the western end of the great cliff (Fig. 2). It was carved presumably at about the same time as its smaller companion.³ Although the hands are now broken off, it seems likely that originally the right hand was raised in 'abhaya mudrā', and the left, as in so many Buddha statues of Mathurā and Gandhāra was shown holding a fold of the robe. It is notable that, in his description of this statue, Hsüan-tsang refers to it merely as 'Fo hsiang' (Jap. 'butsuzo'), or "Buddha image", whereas the reader will remember he specifically designated the smaller idol at Bāmiyān as Śākyamuni.⁴

The scheme of painted decoration in the interior of the great vaulted chamber originally was even more extensive and complicated than the cycle in the niche of the smaller Buddha (Fig. 3). Standing on the head of the colossus, we can see ornamenting the ceiling above the images of numerous enthroned Bodhisattvas with attendants and musicians. On the haunch of the vault at the right and left again are rows of these

1. Ono Gemmyo, 'Daijō bukkyō gajutsushū no kenkyū', Tokyo, 1929, pp. 11-12.

2. Ibid. p. 12.

3. The drapery style of the smaller (120 foot) statue is an enormous enlargement of the formula of deeply channelled folds with sharp cresta seen in Gandhāra images of the third and fourth centuries A. D. (Cf. Bachhofer, L., 'Early Indian Sculpture', New York, n. d., Pl 155).

Allowing for a time-lag between Bāmiyān and the main centres of Graeco-Buddhist art, it may be even later. The wall paintings decorating the niche of this image are, as I have shown elsewhere, certainly no earlier than the sixth or seventh century A. D. (Cf. Rowland, B., "The dating of the Sasanian paintings at Bāmiyān and Dukhtar-i-Nushirvan", 'Bulletin of the Iranian Institute', Dec. 1946, pp. 35-42). The larger (175 foot) image is a magnification of Mathurā statues of the Gupta period in which the drapery is reduced to a pattern of string like loops. (Cf. Coomaraswamy, A. K., 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art', London 1927, Fig 158). This figure at Bāmiyān may, therefore, be dated not earlier than the fifth century A. D.

4. Beal, 'Buddhist Records', I, p. 50.

seated deities. Immediately below are painted Buddhas in multicoloured haloes and in various 'mudrās.' Looking up from the feet of the giant statue we can see that the under surfaces of the cusps of the arches are painted with representations of trinities of flying deities in medallions. Below these again are the fragments of row upon row of Buddhas, differentiated from one another by their 'mudrās' and the trees under which they are seated. At present the first seventy-five feet of wall surface is devoid of any painting.

I repeat here that the very scale of this great image at Bāmiyān implies that the religious of this centre considered the Buddha as a more than mortal teacher and is thereby thoroughly in keeping with the transcendent nature attributed to him by the Lokottaravādins. We should also consider in this regard the possible influence of classic antiquity on the fashioning of enormous images of the gods not only in Christian iconography, but also as here on Buddhist art. I need only mention the statue of the Olympian Zeus and the effigies of the divinized emperors of Rome among the logical artistic prototypes for the practice of magnification to suggest a supra-terrestrial power.¹ There is a possible parallel and explanation for the making of colossi in the beginnings of Christian art. In the West, the Early Christian conception of the Lord as the Good Shepherd was in Byzantium of the fourth century and later replaced by the conception of the superhuman Christ reigning in majesty above the skies. Under influences almost certainly emanating from Iran, the emperors as early as Constantine had assumed the title of Kosmokrator; the founder of Byzantium himself was portrayed in statues of giant size, dimensions deemed appropriate for the Lord of the Universe. When the emperor himself had thus grown to colossal stature, it was hardly possible to show any longer the Light of the World as a mere man; there evolved immediately the Christ Pantokrator,

1. On this problem in Early Christian art, consult Visser, W. J. A., 'Die Entwicklung des Christusbildes in Literatur und Kunst in der Frühhristlichen und Frühbyzantinischen Zeit.' Bonn, 1934, p. 61. It must be remembered—especially in regard to what follows—that the Mahāsaṅghika sects regarded the Tathāgatas as having limitless 'rūpakāya.' (Cf. Kimura, R. 'Historical Study of the Terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.' Calcutta 1927, p. 6.

Ruler of All and regal embodiment of the Word of the Father. Since colossi do not appear in Buddhism before the Gandhāra school, it may be that among the contributions of this hybrid art was the plastic realization of the superhuman nature of the Buddha contained in the texts, aided and abetted by the Graeco-Roman artists' knowledge of over life-sized figures of gods and kosmokrators in the West.

One very good reason for creating colossal images of Buddha even at a very early period would be the conception of the Lord as Mahāpuruṣa. Buddha and Cakravartin, with whom he early became identified, are essentially the Puruṣa (Prajāpati) of Vedic mythology and mysticism: the 'lakṣaṇas' are derived from the distinctive marks of the Cosmic Man.¹ They are in no sense physiological features but "cosmogonomical emblems."² The Great Person is at once the year, a solar myth, and contains all worlds within his mystic anatomy.³ One could look on this concept as a synthesism with ideas already expressed in the 'Bhagavad Gītā' where we read (XI, 13) "There in the body of the God of Gods, the son of Pāṇdu then saw the whole universe resting in one" and (XI, 20) "The space betwixt heaven and earth and all quarters are filled by Thee alone...(XI, 18) Thou art the Ancient Puruṣa."⁴ As M. Mus has remarked there is a suggestion of just such a cosmological stature in the Buddha's flattening the earth with his footsteps, in the likening of his head to an umbrella :⁵ indeed. Dr. Coomaraswamy has shown that the early icons symbolizing Buddha by a parasol, altar, and footprints are really likenesses of the "mystical" body of the Great Person, respectively, sky, air and earth—or, in other words, the cosmic anatomy of Prajāpati.⁶ It becomes clear with this that, as cosmic god and universal

1. Cf. Benart, E., 'La légende du Buddha,' Paris, 1875, pp. 122-123 : this author indicates (p. 123) how the 'Lalitā Vistara' assimilates Nārāyaṇa to the Buddha.

2. Kramrisch, St., "Emblems of the Universal Being," JISOA, III 2, Dec., 1935, p. 160.

3. For the list of the marks of the Great Person, see RV X, 90 (Grisevald, H. D., 'The Religion of the Rīg-veda,' London, 1928, p. 344).

4. Swami Swarupananda, 'Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā,' Mayavati, Almora, 1933.

5. Mus, pp. 633-634.

6. Coomaraswamy, A. K., "Uṣṇīṣa and Chakra," 'The Poona Orientalist,' III, 1, April, 1933, p. 7.

ruler (Puruṣa-Cakravartin) equal to all space, Buddha could appropriately be shown in enormous size as though literally filling a whole "cosmos."¹ That cosmos is—in the case of the Bāmiyān Buddhas the shrine or niche that, like the 'chaitya,' the elevation of which it reproduces in cross section, may be understood as the cosmic house—its portals broad as the earth, its roof the sky.² "Cut.....in the vertical direction, the massive world fabric shows its net where everything is fixed in its place."³

This idea of the Buddha-Puruṣa is already present in the chapter on "the vision of the Universal Form" in the 'Bhagavad Gītā' and corresponds to the conception of Vairocana in the 'Kegon-kyō' in which text the Tathāgata's body is described as comprehending all the directions, all space, all living beings;⁴ a similar text, the 'Bommokyo,' determined the iconography of the 'Daibutsu' at Nara.⁵ On the Nara 'Daibutsu' the various Buddhas and worlds contained in Vairocana's universal form are represented on the petals of the lotus throne;⁶ at Yün Kang the colossal image of Vairocana in Cave 18 has its body clothed in a veritable garment of small Buddhas exactly in the same way that the multiple emanations of Lokeśvara cover the statues of this deity in Indo-China.⁷

1. Or, in other words, "Altogether cosmognomical the Buddha image comprehends the universe" (Kramrisch, p. 163).

2. Coomaraswamy, p. 16.

3. Kramrisch, pp. 161-162.

4. Matsumoto, E., 'Tonkoga no Kenkyū,' Tokyo, 1937, p. 301-307 and Taiabo, no. 278. The pictorial concept of God composed of Adam and Eve, etc. that parallels this concept is studied by R. Salomon, "Das Weltbild eines Avignonischen Denkers," 'Vorträge der Bibl. Warburg, 1925-26,' Berlin, 1928, p. 145, Taf. VII, app. 12 (Cod. Pal. lat 1993).

5. Elliséeff, S., "The 'Bommokyo' and the Great Buddha of the Todaiji," 'Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,' Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1936.—[For typographical reasons some of the accents, etc., had to be omitted on French and Japanese words. Ed.].

6. Ibid., p. 91.

7. Tokiwa D. and Sekino T., 'Buddhist Monuments in China,' Tokyo, 1925, Pl. 41. Matsumoto, pp. 313-314; and Getty, p. 73. There is some question in my mind as to the validity of Matsumoto's identification since not only is there an inscription of the year 489 A. D. (Tokiwa and Sekino, II, pp. 54-55) with a specific reference to a dedication of a group of Buddha and Prabhūtaratna and a Maitreya trinity but also there are on the walls of the cave repeated representations of the two Buddhas in conversation, a factor which might lead one to suppose—as it did Sekino—that the whole cave is an illustration of the Lotus 'sūtra.' It is equally possible that private dedications such as these may have been completely independent of the main image—even inspired by a different scripture.

It is perhaps not too difficult to see that, as on the Nara 'Daibutsu' the worlds are engraved on the petals of the lotus throne so at Bāmiyān these creations of the Cosmic Lord's are painted, row upon row, on the sides and vault of the niche. Although it is of course impossible to state categorically that the colossus in Afghanistan already represents a production of the worship of Vairocana or Universal Buddha as understood by the esoteric sects, the implications of what we see at Bāmiyān—an enormous image surrounded by paintings of multiple Buddhas and Bodhisattvas—certainly suggests that the idea of Vairocana is there in all but name.

It is safe to say that the concept of Buddha as Mahāpuruṣa, present even in Hinayāna texts, and the role of 'lokottara', assigned to him in the Mahāsāṅghika sects, can be seen as working together to produce these first colossi of the Buddhist world.¹ The giant statues of Yūn Kang and Lung-Men are the full development of this ideology and show us the Universal Lord of the Lotus Sūtra and the Avataṃsaka-Buddha as Brahmā, the Father of the World.

Since the great Buddhas of Bāmiyān were already hewn and painted and gilded when Hsüan-tsang visited the site in 632 A. D., it becomes apparent that this contribution to Mahāyāna iconography—and obviously to Mahāyāna thought—might well be credited to the monastic community at Bāmiyān. Although the Master of the Law describes the monks there as following the Hinayāna—precisely the school of the Lokottaravādins—it is apparent that their beliefs, as witnessed by the icons, were almost indistinguishable from those of the followers of the Great Vehicle.

In the Mahāsāṅghika sect of which the Lokottaravādins were a branch, there were already evolved certain definite Mahāyāna concepts. All the Buddhas were regarded as superhuman; and these Tathāgathas have no worldly attributes; limitless are their 'Rūpakāya' and powers. Some germ of the ideas of the 'Sambhogakāya' and 'Dharmakāya' are already manifested in these schools that flourished at Bāmiyān, as is

1. In this connection, I quote Ch'ang Min on the two colossi of Vairocana at Bisakka (Ayodhya?) "Among the gods there is none greater than the Buddha" (Hobogirin, 3, Paris, 1937, p. 213a).



at least suggested in the very conception that we have been studying. The 'Mahāvastu', indeed, presents us with the idea of a Buddha between the mortal creature of the early religion and the quasi-eternal Tathāgata of the later faith.

Of particular interest is Hsüan-tsang's mention of the jewelled ornaments of the colossal Buddha : "To the north-east of the Royal City, there is...a stone figure of Buddha, erect, in height 140 or 150 feet. Its golden hues sparkle on every side, and its precious ornaments dazzle the eyes by their brightness."¹ That these decorations, almost certainly of metal, were attached separately and perhaps long after the making of the statue, is obvious enough from their disappearance today. As a matter of fact, at the back of the upper part of the niche there may still be seen traces of painted ribbons forming part of the Buddha's turban (Fig. 4). Hsüan-tsang's description of the Buddha's original appearance cannot help but remind us of M. Mus' penetrating analysis of the "bejewelled Buddha" in the development of the Mahāyāna faith.² The existence of these necklaces and jewels on the great statue at Bāmiyān seems to imply that the Buddhism of this monastic city was on its way to the fully developed conceptions of the Great Vehicle—the idea of bestowing jewels on the image as a symbol of his heritage from the Cakravartin and the assumption of the transcendental aspect of a King of Kings ("The Tathāgatas of the Past and Future are worthy to be equal with the King of Kings"³). In the same way the painting of Maitreya in the niche of the great Buddha shows the Messiah richly costumed with necklaces and a jewelled turban—symbols of the idea that Maitreya resides in the Tuṣita Heaven in the person of the transcendent Cakravartin : indeed it was once suggested, though with no very convin-

1. Beal, I, p. 50.

2. Mus, "Le Buddha Paré," pp. 168 and 275. Both the scale and the originally magnificent decorations of the image make it appear certain that we have here a representation of the 'Saṃbhogakāya' of Buddha. I have hinted before that, as the art of Bāmiyān suggests, it was from the Mah'sāṃghika beliefs on the limitless form and powers of the Tathāgatas that the Mahāyāna concepts of the Saṃbhogakāya and Dharmakāya derive.

3. Ibid., p. 262.

cing evidence, by Professor Ono Gemmyo, that the colossus itself represented the Buddha of the Future.¹

On the shoulders of the large image at Bāmiyān are structures with niches like openings in a dove-cot (Fig. 4). A possible explanation for these edifices is that they may have formed the armatures for shoulder flames—symbolical representations of the Buddha's magic 'tejas' as it is often shown in the statues of Gandhāra.²

Another suggestion which may at first appear audacious arises partly from the lack of evidence for such small figures ever having ornamented the smaller colossus and partly from the occasional inaccuracies in Hsüan-tsang's descriptions of what he saw: this suggestion is that the 'bunshin' actually formed part of the decoration of the larger Buddha—perhaps indeed, may have occupied the curious niches in the hitherto unexplained structures on the Buddha's shoulders. That these constructions would have been placed there after the Buddhist period seems impossible; likewise it is apparent that in such an inaccessible position they could never have fulfilled any functional purpose and must in other words have had some connection with the decoration of the statue or the ritual of its worship. That the little arched openings in these dove-cot like structures might once have sheltered numerous small metal images considered as emanations of the Buddha appears on the surface to be an acceptable hypothesis and a confirmation of the proposed reading of Hsüan-tsang's text.

More than one detail of the niche of the great Buddha with its painted figures of scores of divinities suggests the descriptions of the Lotus Sūtra: a hint of such a connection is seen in the trinities of flying figures scattering flowers and jewels: one of them indeed carries a purse

1. Ono, p. 18 ff. The identification was based mainly on the fact that a colossus of Maitreya is known to have existed at Darel and was described by Hsüan-tsang (Beal, I, p. 134).

2. Foucher, A., *L'Art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, Paris, 1918, Vol. II, fig. 463. Foucher, Hackin, J., "Les travaux de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan", RAA, XII, 1, 1938, Pl. VI, fig. 21.

or bag, (full of jewels ?)¹ This latter personage calls to mind the passage from the eleventh chapter of the 'Saddharmapuṇḍarīka', "Thereupon thirty 'koṭis' of worlds in each direction were occupied by those Tathāgatas from all the eight quarters. Then, seated on their thrones, those Tathāgatas deputed their satellites into the presence of the Lord Śākyamuni, and after giving them 'bags with jewel flowers' enjoined them thus : go, you men of good family, to the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain, where the Lord Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, etc., is : salute him reverentially, and ask, in our name, after the state of his health, etc., strew him with this heap of jewels."² These flying deities could then be regarded as a link between the painted Buddhas and the colossal statues of the Lord. It is certain at least that this whole enormous complex of statue and related paintings is intended as a concrete illustration of one of the Mahāyāna texts describing an assembly of the Buddhas of all the worlds and all the 'Kalpas' together with the hosts of the Bodhisattvas.³ The most usual feature of the illustrations of the 'Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,' namely the dialogue between Śākyamuni and the extinct Tathāgata, Prabhūtaratna, is missing. At any rate, we may be sure that the whole is definitely a Mahāyāna conception in which the Buddha is seen only as a reflection of a transcendental personality. Admittedly the Buddha is here conceived of as a Lokottara ; it seems, indeed, colossal images such as these at Bāmiyān and the similar giant statues in China were specifically intended to portray the universal nature of the Buddha, to incorporate in material form for the worshippers something of the power and glory of the unknowable mystery of the Sambhogakāya and the Dharmakāya, or Buddhist Logos.⁴ Their aim, like the aim of all Mahāyāna art, was to present in knowable shape something of the essence of the Eternal Dharma ; "through the Buddha one sees the Dharma."

1. Hackin, J., "Buddhist Art in Central Asia," Indian, Iranian and Chinese Influences, 'Studies in Chinese Art', London, 1938, pl. III. fig. 5.

2. Kern, p. 335.

3. The Mahāvastu credits Buddha with the power of sending out emanations : Shastri, M. H., 'Mahāvastu,' Gaekwad Or. Ser., XL, Baroda, 1927, pp. xviii-xix.

4. Taketaro and Nakagawa, 'Rock Carvings of the Yün-kang Caves,' Tokyo, 1921, plates 149, 197, 198. These are illustrations of Caves XV and XVII at Ta-t'ung.

A CARVING MOTIF AND ITS PROBABLE PHILOSOPHICAL RELATION

by V. RAGHAVAN

It is well understood that our art is rooted in our philosophy and religion. 'Śilpa śāstra' is oftentimes found as part of the 'Āgamas.' Dance, music, literature, painting, sculpture, architecture,—all crowded at and had their consecrated fulfilment in the temple. The artist was no less a 'sādhaka' than the 'yogin.' The tenets of a system and the symbologies of the worship were in his mind when he produced his creations. As the painter or sculptor was filling the temple wall with his drawings or carvings, on his ears were falling the words of the teacher sitting in the 'maṭha' or the 'prākāra' of the temple, explaining to his pupils or the devotees some grand conception of his philosophical system or illustrating some doctrine with a telling analogue. Some apparently random piece of work done by him in a corner of a wall in the temple may, on investigation, be found to have its own significance which would specially justify it.

In some of the temples in the Deccan and South India we find a dexterous carving in which there is a single head with two different bodies, of an elephant and a bull; viewing it from the elephant side or with the elephant-idea in mind, one discovers an elephant's head, trunk, etc.; viewing from the bull's side or with the bull-idea in mind, one discerns a bull's head;—a skilful execution of sculptural 'double entendre,' a 'śleṣa' in 'śilpa', to borrow a figure from rhetoric. It is found in temples in the Deccan (Paṭṭadakal) and South India: in Śrīśailam; Acyutarāya temple, Hampi; Śrīmuṣṇam and Dārāsura (Rājarājeśvara) near Kumbhakoṇam, etc. The carving reproduced on p. 76, by permission of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, is from Śrīmuṣṇam.

This recurring subject of the sculptors is probably not haphazard. It is not unlikely that it is a pictorial gloss on some basic idea or philosophical tenet which was very well known and was frequently stressed and explained with illustrations by the teachers moving in the temples. Nothing would be more important than to find the evidence which would make us understand our artistic achievements in their proper background, find the spiritual basis of some of these motifs and view them from their appropriate philosophical perspective.

Such a spiritual basis and correlation with doctrine are traceable for this piece of elephant-bull carving. Gorakṣa, alias Maheśvarānanda is a gifted poet and philosophical writer who hailed from a well-known religious centre and shrine on the banks of the Cauvery in Coladeśa. He was the son of Mādhava, a pupil of Mahāprakāśa, and a follower of Abhinavagupta of Kashmir in both poetics and philosophy. He expounded the Śaiva monistic philosophical system of Kashmir known as Pratyabhijñā or Anuttarādvaita. Of his works, the Mahārthamañjarī in Prākṛt Gāthās and Sanskrit gloss is available and has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. 61), a work "sweet like the Cauvery, fragrant like a lily, and grand like the dance of Naṭarāja" as the author himself says.¹

One of the basic doctrines of this Pratyabhijñā school of non-dualistic Śaiva philosophy is that Śiva and Śakti, Prakāśa and Vimarśa, are essentially one, but they appear to be two and different; how this duality of Śiva and Śakti is only apparent and how they are, in reality and ultimately, one is explained by Maheśvarānanda in the following verse and commentary :

आलम्बविसेसमिन्न गजवृषहाणं द्वयेण प्रतिभासं ।
एकस्मिं चित्र अर्थे सिवसत्तिविहायकल्पणं कुणिमो ॥
[आलेख्यविशेष इव गजवृषभयोर्द्वयोः प्रतिभासम् ।
एकस्मिन्नेवार्थे शिवशक्तिविभागकल्पनां कुर्मः ॥]

चित्रकृतो हि स्ववैदग्ध्यप्रकटनाय गजवृषभादीनां भिन्नस्वभावानामपि भावानामेकतरसन्निवेशयुक्त्या एकावभासः अन्यतरसन्निवेशयुक्त्या अन्यस्फुरणं च यथा भवति तथा विलिखन्तीति अविस्-
वादिनीयं मर्यादा । एवं स्थिते यथा गजवृषभोभयाकारसम्पर्के भिन्नविशेषे गजवृषभयोः द्वयोरपि

पर्यालोचक प्रभातुजनानुसन्धानधाराधिरोहवैशिष्ट्येन कुम्भमण्डलशुण्डाकुण्डलीभावादियोगात्
 ककुदकूटप्रोथपुटीद्विण्यादिक्रमाच्च प्रतिनियतोऽवभासः प्रकाशनं भवति, तद्वदेकस्मिन्नेवार्थे सर्वेषामध्वनां
 पर्यन्ततः प्राप्ये तस्वे शिवः शक्तिरिति, प्रकाशो विमर्श इति एवंविधो यो यो विभागः विचित्रस्वभा-
 वानतिक्रान्तोऽप्यतिक्रान्त इवावभासमानोऽशः, तस्य यत्कल्पनं स्वतस्तथासमर्थोभवतः तत्समर्था-
 चरणेनोन्मीलनं, तत् कुर्मः, जानीमो वदामोऽनुतिष्ठामश्च । २ ॥

p. 74.

Maheśvarānanda says that in the same single object we adopt by imagination the distinction of Śiva and Śakti, just as we do the appearance of the two animals, elephant and bull, in a particular drawing. It is a well-known practice of the artists, he continues, to show their skill by drawing a picture which seen from one view point gives the image of one animal like the elephant, and seen from the other, yields the image of quite a different animal, the bull. Even so, from one angle of vision, we call the same Truth Śakti and Vimarśa, from another, we call the same, Śiva and Prakāśa.

The illustration of an elephant-bull painting or carving was perhaps an old one traditionally handed down by the teachers, and though in the gloss, Maheśvarānanda draws it from the field of paintings done by skilful artists, the recurrent theme suggests that its further popularisation in the temples was due to its employment by the philosophers. This 'Gaja-Vṛṣabha-Citra' was evidently figured on the wall as an aid to the 'manana,' ratiocinative contemplation, of the apparent duality and ultimate one-ness of Śiva and Śakti, or any of the shades of difference-unity, Bheda-Abheda, adopted by the different 'darśanas.'



THE IDENTIFICATION OF AN ANCIENT CHINESE JADE

by A. SALMONY



The practical purpose of most ancient Chinese bronzes is fully established by their shapes, while many jades of like age fail to tell their story in an equally obvious manner. As a consequence, some jade forms are still without a place in the repertory of material culture. Confronted with such a quandary, Chinese archaeologists of the XIth and immediately following centuries would have indulged in more or less fanciful speculations. The

present-day investigator has more reliable avenues of inquiry at his disposal.

A form new to the present day observer has recently appeared among Chinese jade shapes. It is the disc with a comparatively large central opening, from which a short rim projects on both sides forming a central tube. An example in the S. H. Minkenhof Collection, New York, can be considered as a perfect representation of the type. It has in common with many others, but not all, concentric furrows on both sides of the disc. In this example they number three. The type entered the literature on jade when Laufer discussed a fragment of a disc (B. Laufer, 'Jade', Chicago, 1912, p. 167 and pl. XXV, 6). He expressly mentions the "projecting ridge over the perforation on both sides" and calls it "a unique specimen, none like it being illustrated in any Chinese book". A complete example was later included in a study

by Pope-Hennessy (U. Pope-Hennessy, 'Early Chinese Jades', New York, 1923, pl. XXXII, 1) and described as a "primitive object of unknown use with flaring lips on both sides". Both specimens are of relatively late origin, as will be demonstrated in due course. When Laufer finally illustrated two jades, similar in form to the one under consideration, but without the furrows (B. Laufer, 'Archaic Chinese Jades', Chicago, 1927, p. 26 and pl. XI, 1 and pl. XII, 1), he identified them as "wheel discs" and read a non-existent geometric pattern in the particles of vermillion accidentally adhering to one of them.

The type represents a ceremonial cup-stand, as the present writer intends to demonstrate. For this purpose, he suggests that first a search be made of the texts of Chinese antiquity. They provide two pertinent references. The Chih King describes a present of value as "a bowl, fixed on a jade-tablet" (S. Couvreur, 'Cheu King', Ho Kien fou, 1896, p. 409). The Li Ki must have the same object in mind when it records that "one employed the jade vase, fixed on a large jade-tablet for libations" (S. Couvreur, 'Li Ki', Ho Kien fou, 1899, vol. I, p. 730). These quotations establish the existence of an ancient implement to enhance the dignity of a cup or vase-like recipient, although without giving any information concerning the aspect of such "tablets".

Chinese excavations have yielded objects of circular shape for which the usage as cup or vase support is at least a distinct possibility. Loehr mentioned white stone discs, which were found in the prehistoric and largely neolithic "Black Pottery" site of Ch'eng Tzu Yai as well as at the bronze age capital near Anyang (M. Loehr, "Neue Typen grauer Shang-Keramik", 'Sinologische Arbeiten', vol. I, Peking 1943, p. 56). His description reads significantly : "These white chalk rings with black circles in the center are produced with the circumstantial exactitude and care of objects serving a magic ceremonial ; invariably, their form recalls the ring-discs of jade, called Pi". It is conceivable that the black circle of a chalk ring indicated the part that supported a cup and was thus hidden by it. The elimination of that section through perforation, practised on particularly valuable material, such as jade, requires no stretch of imagination. Since a Shang date will be presently assigned to the type under consideration, it is well to note that in this period appear

two slightly different versions of the same object of material culture. One, the stone-ring with black centre, continues a pre-historic form. The other, the jade disc with short projecting cylinder appears as an innovation based on the shape of the past, as befits the notoriously traditional character of Chinese ritual art. Presuming that these cylinder discs fulfilled the function just suggested, the theory set forth in this paper is further solidified by China's official and unofficial archaeology, which supplements the disc-shape. However, the Shang date of the second type requires supporting arguments.

Laufer was aware of the archaic character of the jade type under discussion. In his second consideration of it, he coupled it with the term "Chou", this being as far as one dared to go back at the time he was writing (Laufer, 'Archaic Chinese Jades', loc. cit.). Shortly afterwards such jades began to appear on the art market with Shang labels, which designation in itself means little. The fine quality of the material and the perfection of the carving, in the cases where furrows are present, may be typical of the period; they, however, are insufficient proof of such dating. Only the decoration itself gives the decisive clue and makes the same dating also reliable for some of the plain pieces. These concentric grooves occur frequently in the black pottery of Ch'eng Tzu yai (Academia Sinica, "Ch'eng Tzu yai", Nanking, 1934, pl. VIII) and were taken over by Shang ceramists (F. S. Drake, "Ancient Pottery from Shantung", 'Monumenta Serica', vol. IV. 1, pl. XXIII-XXV). For the pre-historic civilization that came into possession of the potter's wheel, they constitute a contiguous ornament, easily produced while the ware was turned. Being extensively used by the Shang potter, they offer themselves to the Shang jade carver as a traditional decor. Beath has shown that these furrows are even encountered in bronze-casting. He published a pottery cup "attached to the saucer" from a pre-historic site in Chekiang, the Southern deviation of the Ch'eng Tzu yai stage, and compared it with a similar bronze combination (St. B. Beath, "Black Pottery of the Liang chu site near Hangchow", 'The China Journal', vol. XXXI, 1, Dec. 1939, fig. 23 a-b). The latter displays two sets of incised double circles on the saucer. It was labelled Han, an attribution that was changed to Shang, when the same author re-published both

composite pairs (St. B. Beath, "Black Pottery Culture in Chekiang", 'Asia', January 1941, p. 49-50). Unfortunately, descriptions and illustrations do not permit one to select one of the two dates. They also fail to give information about the base and the rim of the saucers, thus making it inadvisable for the time being to inter-relate the pottery saucer and the jade cup-stand. The bronze of uncertain date has been quoted only because it carries the concentric furrows, a simplified version of a Neolithic and Shang ornament.

While bringing together Chinese epigraphical and archaeological material, pertaining to the ritual use of a cup-stand, and to its disc form, the cylindrical part of the illustrated example so far had to be disregarded. This aspect can, however, be traced among the ancient civilizations of the Near East and of Europe, which, by the same token, furnish proof for the existence of such objects outside of China.

At first, one finds only the disc. Childe extracted information from excavation-reports of the al 'Ubaid stage, as the Neolithic bottom-layer of Mesopotamia is called, according to which pottery discs are used as "ring stands for tumblers and dishes" (V. G. Childe, 'New Light on the Most Ancient East,' London, 1935, p. 143). A functional explanation of their existence can be deduced from the fact that many early pottery shapes of the West have pointed or rounded bottoms and are thus in need of a stabilizing device. Vinca in Yugoslavia, one of the earliest Neolithic sites on the Balkans, contributes "stone bracelets with a triangular cross-section, considered as vase-supports by the discoverer" (V. G. Childe, 'The Danube in Pre-history,' Oxford 1929, p. 31) Finally, partly or totally vertical versions of the device from Western and Central Europe are discussed and illustrated by Hoernes and Menghin (M. Hoernes and O. Menghin, " 'Urgeschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Europa", 3rd ed., Vienna, 1925, p. 260). They mention "cylindrical or conical supports, topped by a ring or bowl-shaped enlargement which serves to hold the vessel, an elaboration of the simple pottery-ring, which was originally used for this purpose, and which is frequently found in pre-historic hearths". Here one meets at last with a tube, combined with a disc, although topped, not bisected, by it. It also emphasizes the vertical extension over the horizontal one. One rather late jade example

of such proportions is known from China also (Pope-Hennessy, op. cit, pl. XXXIX).

In the West, as in China, the cup-stand persisted far into the metal phases of culture. While digging up Hittite sites in Anatolia, Kocay found "round ring-shaped supports for pointed vessels" (H. Z. Kocay, "A Contribution to Central-Anatolian Pre-historic Ceramics", *'Artibus Asiae'* X, 1, p. 40). Nearly a thousand years later, "a bronze-disc which served as a ring-stand for a lost vessel" was used in Bulgaria (B. D. Filow, *'Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgarien,'* Sofia, 1934, p. 139, fig. 167, 5)

As a result of these examples chosen at random, it is possible to set forth a world-wide distribution of the cup-stand. This does not necessarily imply contact or migration, because early civilizations are known to have in common many objects of material culture and many symbols. It would also be futile to try to establish a time-sequence from the functional usage to the ritual significance of the object. Coomaraswamy demonstrated time and again that practical usefulness and symbolic values are inextricably interwoven.

As an object of distinction, the cup-stand follows the glorification of a spherical receptacle, exemplified by Buddha's Begging Bowl, the Holy Grail and the Chalice of the Eucharist. The last one originated with an elongated stem, pertinent for an advanced metal-culture. But long before the discovery of metal something was needed to elevate a consecrated container of food or drink above the ground or its own base. The earliest form chosen for such purpose was a disc. If one chooses to call it an ornament, this can be done only in the sense given to this term by Coomaraswamy, namely as something to "glorify" and to "magnify" (A. C. Coomaraswamy, *'Figures of Speech and Figures of Thought,'* London 1946, p. 89). With or without an open centre, such a circular plate was fit for many uses and carried varied symbolic connotations, so that Laufer's first interpretation of the jade as an axle-end and Loehr's allusion to the Chinese symbol of Heaven are justifiable.

As in the West, the shape also survived a long time in China. It can be assumed that only the finely grooved or the delicately cut cup-

stands are of Shang date. They were followed by Early Western Chou objects of rougher make, always devoid of decoration. Jade-collections abound in examples illustrating this second stage, although the difference is not easily recognized through illustration. Such an evolution is in line with the stylistic sequence traced among early Chinese bronzes.

No specimen of the cup-stand from the Middle and Late Eastern Chou periods has yet been identified. But the resurgence of the type during Han is proved by finds from across the Southern Chinese border. These Han discs differ from preceding examples mainly by the short, rounded projections on both sides of the central cut-out, a technique which affects not only the disc, but all ring-shapes (V. Goloubew, "L'Age du Bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord-Annam", 'Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-orient', vol. XXIX, Hanoi 1930, pl. XIII a).

It is to this group and period that the examples published by Laufer in 1912 and by Pope-Hennessy in 1923 belong. However, the original shape of the cup-stand was well enough remembered during Han times to influence the formation of a one piece pottery bowl with disc (R. L. Hobson, 'The G. Eumorfopoulos Collection, Catalogue of Chinese, Korean and Persian Pottery and Porcelain', vol. I, London 1925, pl. XIII, No. 13). During the following periods of Chinese ceramic art, the disc becomes a saucer with concave rim, set on a tall and frequently elaborate stand, but still with the former bisecting the latter. Although these modest potteries find their way only accidentally into publications, at least two are known from T'ang times (Hobson, op. cit., pl. LXXI, No. 451 and pl. LXXII, No. 490). Sung examples are quite numerous and their stands are occasionally provided with a short plain upper cylinder, into which the cup fits (Hobson, op. cit. vol. II, pl. L, No. B173 and pl. LXIV, No. B256). Korea carries the bisected pottery cup-stand still further (A. Eckardt, 'A History of Korean Art,' London, 1929, pl. CXVIII, fig. 376 and pl. CXXXVI, fig. 423).

With these last references to Chinese cup-stands, this study returns to the art of the potter, which provided the prototype for the Shang jade. Prehistory had initiated the use of this ceremonial object. When it was rendered in the material which China considered the most precious, jade, it retained the original shape and decoration of its pottery model, the

reason being, as Coomaraswamy remarked, that "in a craft like that of pottery, now so little valued, but which once, as being the oldest of arts, enjoyed the highest favour, we should expect to and do indeed meet with forms and symbols of a plane other than that of the field of architecture and sculpture" (Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 254).

ILLUSTRATION, p. 77 :

6 2115 Cup-stand tan jade. Shang period.
 Diameter : $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches
 Height : $\frac{1}{2}$ "
 Collection : S. H. Minkenhof, New York.

THE BUDDHIST CAVE OF LONAD

by R. V. LEYDEN

The village of Lonad is situated north of the Uhlas River a few miles from Kalyan.¹ Lonad itself and surroundings are full of antiquities belonging to the later medieval period.² About a mile north of Lonad, a small Vihāra cave is excavated in the side of a low hill facing west over a wooded valley which, in spite of its smaller dimensions, is somewhat reminiscent of the Ajanta gorge.³ The cave is 150 feet up and almost entirely obscured by masses of fallen stone and shrubs. The inside verandah is free of debris while the inner hall is usually more than ankle deep in water and slimy mud.

The inside of the cave was never finished. The outer porch has fallen and without its protection, the few sculptured panels have suffered extensively by atmospherics. The inside verandah is about 45' long and is screened off from the outside by four pillars and two pilasters. The two outer pillars are of a plain square type; the two inner pillars are of a peculiar shape (only one is still standing). Over a square and low base rises a double 'cushion' capital. The 'cushions' are square, not round,

1. The visitor should follow the Bhivandi Road from Kalyan and before reaching the bridge turn into a cart track on his right where he will soon see three Towers of Silence, two of which date back to the 16th and 18th centuries. The track leads to the ferry across the river and continues on the other side through the hamlet Chaudarpada to Lonad.

2. The Rāmeśvara Temple of Lonad belongs to the Deccan style of the 11th or 12th century. A Śiva-Pārvatī image belonging to the same period is found in a wayside temple at Chaudarpada. Three hundred feet east of this temple is a land-grant stone dated A. D. 1289 (Śaka 1161). Several mounds in the surrounding fields hide the remnants of temples and other buildings.

3. The cave is accurately described in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIV, part III, 1882, p. 211. ff. It is also mentioned in the Register of Ancient Monuments, Arch. Survey of India, but has, to my knowledge, never been published with illustrations.



3



4

but fluted like those in Elephanta, Badami, Ellora and other places. The total height of the pillar is $7'7\frac{1}{2}"$. Brackets spring from each pillar or pilaster. The brackets are ribbed and decorated with a centre band carved with flower patterns very similar to those in Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad. The shape of the pillars is peculiar and does not compare with any others found in Western Indian cave temples (Fig. 2). In spite of their squat proportions and massiveness, they are elegant in their plasticity by which they appear to cushion the heavy load of the roof. The change from the plain square shape below, to the swelling cushion-capital forms in the centre, gives rhythmical organization to the front of the cave. Three doors lead to the inner hall. The two side doors have simple recessed door frames with crudely carved Dvārapālas at the foot of the jambs. The centre door is framed by two slim pillars with the 'cushion' and lotus capital familiar from the paintings in Ajanta. They carry a lintel decorated with 'caitya' windows. Against the jambs are placed two stone stools consisting of circular seats carried by plump, curly-wigged 'Gaṇas'. Nothing similar is known to me in other caves of Western India.

The hall inside measures about 19' by 47' and is plain and undecorated. At the back are the beginnings of two cell entrances and an unfinished shrine in which are placed some crude stones and images worshipped by the villagers.

The cave is decorated with a long frieze of small carved panels in the outer fallen porch just under the roof, and with a large sculptural panel at the south end of the porch which is the centre of attraction.

The frieze: The carvings run along the whole length of the verandah. They are subdivided into panels 10" high and 25" to 35" long. The carving is extremely lively and in some panels full of movement. Considerable portions are destroyed. The various panels seem to illustrate Jātakas but most are of such general nature that identification is difficult. The second and third panel from the north may be telling the story of Buddha subduing the ferocious elephant. The other panels show court scenes, processions of chariots and horses, teaching scenes featuring bearded ascetics and their disciples. The last three panels on the south end show a queen lying on a couch attended by maids,

Buddha (?) sitting in "European fashion" surrounded by what looks like threatening hosts (temptation?) and a full bellied king and his queen on their throne with their courtiers and women.

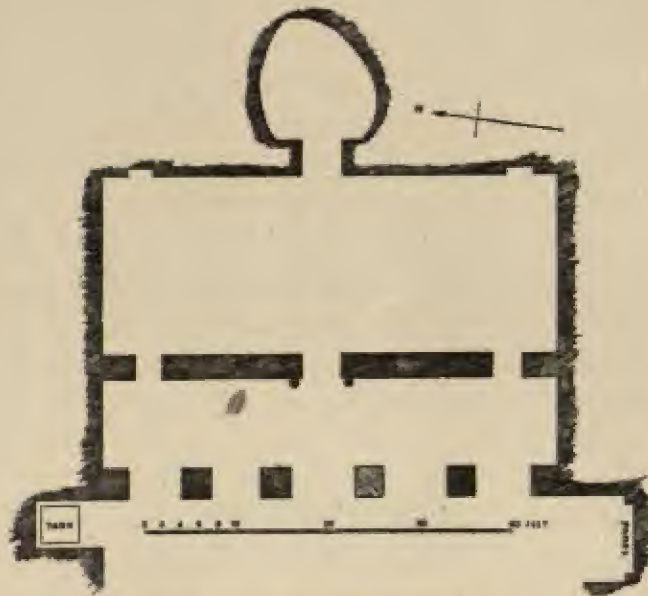
The large panel: The large sculptural panel on the south end of the outer verandah has been exposed to rain and sun for countless years. The carving has suffered and all details such as the faces have been obliterated or blackened. However, enough is left to prove that the Lonad panel must be counted amongst the finest monuments of classical sculpture in Western India. The panel is about 4' 11" high and 7' 8" wide. The height of the female figure standing in the centre is 3' 5". The panel is framed by pilasters which support 'makaras'. A scroll issuing from the mouth of the monsters forms the upper border of the panel. The pilaster and 'makara' on the right have been obliterated.

The carving shows a picturesque court scene with a prince surrounded by his courtesans, friends and ministers. The prince who has a soft, full body sits comfortably on his throne, one leg raised up and supported by a sling of his belt, the other resting in the lap of a small serving woman who seems to massage his foot. In front of the throne stands a vessel which might be a spittoon. The king's head is inclined towards the chowri bearer on the left whom his hand seems to be caressing. On the right a slender woman carries the king's sword. Further to the right is a group of two men, one leaning on the other. The portion above them is completely destroyed.

On the left is a pair of ministers engaged in serious discussion. Their bodies seem to be bare except for loin cloths and looped belts. They have their hair done in elaborate curls. Especially the right figure of this group, the one next to the king, is remarkable for its natural and animated pose (Fig. 4)

Above this group (Fig. 5) and surrounding the prince are seven or eight maids. Of most of them only the heads can be seen with ornate, wheel-like coiffures on top or at the back of their heads, decorated with ribbands. They are seen to carry vessels, whisks and instruments of the king's toilet. Two or three hold one finger over their lips which may be a sign of respect. In the extreme left stands a man with his hand on the shoulder of one of the girls.





Ground plan of Lonad Cave

Fig. 1.

The panel is worked in bas-relief. The bodies must have had, in their original state, the soft, pliable modelling which invites touching and which gives lightness and warmth, in spite of the compactness and solidity of form. Poses and gestures have been keenly observed. They give to the whole group an atmosphere of natural ease, comfort and relaxation although it is tightly composed and full of corresponding rhythms. Follow the line from the arms of the ministers on the left through the king's belt-loop, and his arm to the shoulders of the standing girl sword-bearer, and down her arm to the group on the right—a continuous rhythmic flow with its marked cadences.

The heads of the girls in the background surround the king like the blossoms of a bouquet of flowers. The arrangement betrays the origin of or the inspiration for this panel in several similar scenes painted in cave 17 in Ajanta. The composition is pictorial, not really plastic and has little in common with the dramatic rock sculptures of the Brahmanical caves in Western India,¹ or even with the exuberant sculpture of the Buddhist caves of Aurangabad which may be contemporary.

1. Cf. however the affinity of the sculptural context, in Elephanta (Fig. 3) and Lonad (Figs. 4 and 5).

In the absence of inscriptions, the dating of the Lonad cave is conjectural. The sculptures, in their easy elegance, seem to ask for a date contemporary with caves 1 and 2, or even 16 and 17, in Ajanta, i. e. the sixth or seventh century. On the other hand, the fluted cushion capital of the pillars points to a later age, possibly the first half of the eighth century.

The small Vihāra cave of Lonad was, it seems, an intermediate station on the long pilgrim and trade route which led from Sopara via Kanheri and the other Buddhist monasteries on Salsette island to the Nanaghat pass and on to the higher Deccan.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Plan of Lonad Cave.
2. Lonad Cave, inner verandah with cushion-capital pillar and square pillar.
3. Elephanta, Kalyāṇasundara mūrti ; detail.
4. Lonad Cave, sculpture panel at south-end of outer verandah ; detail : conversing ministers.
5. Detail, group of men and women, immediately above the ministers.

TWO ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ASUTOSH MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART

by MONOTOSH MOOKERJEE

Recently the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta, has acquired by purchase an illuminated Nepalese manuscript (No. T. 1055) containing several sacred texts pertaining to the worship of the goddesses of the Pañcharakshā Maṇḍala.¹ They are :

1. Mahāsāhasrapramarddanī-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (Fol. 1-18) ;
2. Mahāmāyurī Vidyā (Fol. 18-40) ;
3. Mahāsītavatī-nāma Mahāvidyā (Fol. 40-41) ;
4. Mahāpratisarā Mahāvidyā (Fol. 42-57) ; and
5. Mahāmantrānusārīnī Mahāvidyā (Fol. 57-59).

These goddesses known as Mahāvidyās form a group of five and are collectively known as the Pañcharakshā Maṇḍala. According to the colophon at the end, the manuscript was copied in (Newari) Samvat 225, i. e. 1105 A. D., during the reign of Śīhadeva, King of Nepal. The colophon is important as it throws a new light on the history of Nepal during the first half of the twelfth century A. D. (The history of the period is rather vague and uncertain, and this colophon furnishes us with an indubitable historical fact which has remained unknown up till now). The manuscript is written on some kind of paper, the composition of which has to be investigated. The use of paper at so early a date is unknown and doubts may be entertained regarding the genuineness of the date given in the manuscript. The date, however, has been given

1. I am grateful to the authorities of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta, for lending me the use of the Manuscripts and to S. S. K. Saraswati of the Fine Arts Department, University of Calcutta for his kind assistance. Prof. Kramrisch drew my attention to the earliest instance of the use of paper (Ms. A) in India, known as yet.

unequivocally and leaves no doubt as to its being the date of the copy. A palaeographical examination of the letters also corroborates the genuineness of the date. Bendall has given a chart of the letters and numerals used in the Nepalese manuscripts preserved in the Cambridge University Library. It will be found that the figure numerals in the manuscript under examination for 200, 20 and 5 exactly correspond to those in the Cambridge manuscript dated in the 11th and 12 centuries A. D. The figure for 200, as given in our manuscript, is not known after the 12th century A. D., and that for 20 undergoes a radical change in form in the 13th. The figure for 5, as it is in our manuscript, was current in the 11th and 12th centuries A. D., and survives, in stray cases till the early part of the 13th after which the form is greatly modified. As for other letters it will be found that they have a close resemblance to those of the 11th and 12th centuries A. D. A student of palaeography is aware that the 13th century generally, and in some specific cases even the 12th, bring in significant changes and modifications in the forms of the Newari letters but such modified forms are totally absent in our manuscript. From a close resemblance of the palaeography of this manuscript with those of the 11th and 12th century A. D. there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the date given in the manuscript. Copied in 1125 A. D. this is perhaps the earliest instance of the use of paper in India. The manuscript antedates the earliest known paper manuscript by at least 300 years. In this manuscript (specified here as Ms. A.) there are ten illuminations, the first and the last on the inside of the two covers and the rest on the folios themselves. The size of these illuminations is $2\frac{1}{2}$ " x $3\frac{1}{2}$ ".

(1) The front cover shows a god of yellow complexion standing in 'tribhaṅga' pose within a circle of flames. Of the two hands, the right is shown in 'varada-mudrā' and the left holds a lotus with a manuscript over it. The figure is heavily bejewelled with anklets, bracelets, armlets, necklace, earrings, and an elaborate 'ratna-mukuta' crowns the head. The god wears a red-coloured 'dhoti' with one end hanging down between the legs. A scarf of the same colour passes round the body with the ends hanging down from the left arm. The upper part of the body is entirely bare.



(2) The illumination on the first folio represents the Buddha seated in 'vajra-paryāṅka' on a double lotus throne with a highly elaborated back with flame borders. The upper part of this throne shows two swans with foliage like plumes and a 'kīrtimukha' at the top with serpents issuing from its mouth. In this and in the next eight illuminations a tree with green foliage is shown behind the back of every throne. The figure wears a red garment, covering the whole body. The hands are placed near the breast in 'dharmachakrapravartana mudrā' symbolising the first sermon at Sarnath. Behind the figure of the Buddha there is a green cushion with designs resembling embroidered ones.

(3) The next illumination (Fol. 2b) shows a goddess, deep blue in colour, seated on a cushion upon a lotus in 'lalitāsana' within a flame background. She has four heads, the additional heads being white, yellow and green in colour. Each of the heads has three round eyes with fierce looks and the hair is shown as rising upwards in flame-like curls. The goddess wears a cloth, purplish in colour, the upper portion of the body being bare. She has eight hands of which the lowest right is placed on the thigh with a 'vajra' on the palm; the other right hands hold an 'aṅkuśa' (elephant goad), an arrow, and brandish a sword. The main left hand is in 'tarjanī' pose, while the other left hands hold an axe, a bow, and a lotus with an uncertain object (perhaps a jewel) on it. The goddess wears the usual ornaments, namely, anklets, armlets, bangles, bracelets, neck-chains, and earrings (Pl. facing p. 91).

(4) Next we have the representation of a three-headed goddess (Fol. 18b) yellow in colour, seated in 'vajra-paryāṅka' on a cushion supported on a lotus. The background is red with white borders. Of the additional heads, the right one is blue, and the left is red. All the heads have three eyes each, and bear a pleasant mien. Of the eight hands the main pair shows 'varada' in the left and a cup with the effigy of a figure on it on the right. The additional left hands hold from below a waterpot, a 'chakra' and a sword, while the other right hands bear the tail of a peacock, a pot with a four-pronged object and a bunch of banners being jewels respectively in the same order. The goddess wears the usual ornaments and a highly bejewelled crown.

(5) On Fol. 19a may be seen a goddess, green in colour and with

three heads and six hands, seated as above. The additional head to the right is white, and that to the left red. All the heads have three eyes each. The main pair of hands shows 'vyākhyāna' in the right, and 'tarjanī' in the left, while the additional hands to the right bear 'vajra' and arrow, and those to the left a staff and an arrow in the same order. The ornaments and crown are similar to above.

(6) We have next (Fol. 40b) a representation of a three-headed and eight-handed goddess, white in colour, seated crosslegged, as above. The additional head to the right is dark blue, and that to the left is light yellow. All the heads have three eyes each. The main pair of hands is held near the breast, the right damaged and the left in 'tarjanī-mudrā'. The additional hands to the right from below bear 'vajra', arrow, and sword, while those to the left, 'triśūla', bow and an axe. The ornaments and crown are as above.

(7) The white-coloured three-headed goddess on folio 41a has twelve hands. The additional head to the right is blue, and that to the left is red. All the three heads have three eyes each. The main pair of hands is in 'dharmachakra-pravartana mudrā'. Another pair of hands is shown in 'samādhimudrā'. The additional right hands from below have 'varada, abhaya, vajra' and arrow, while the left hands bear 'tarjanī' pose, water vase with flowers, a crest with a jewel on it and a bow in the same order. The ornaments and the crown are the same as above.

(8) On folio 59b is illustrated a group of three figures, each standing in 'tribhaṅga' pose with two hands and with a halo round the head. In the background is a tree with its foliage spreading upwards behind the heads. The central figure is that of a god, yellow in colour. The right hand exhibits 'vyākhyāna mudrā' and the left holds a flower by the stalk with a water-pot on it. The hair is tucked up in 'jaṭāmukuta' in front of which may be seen the representation of a 'stūpa'. A deer skin is seen hanging down from the left shoulder. The god wears a red cloth (the upper portion of the body is bare), and the usual ornaments. The figure to the right is that of a white-coloured god. The right hand is shown in 'jñāna mudrā' and the left holds a lotus by the stalk. Over the head is the 'jaṭāmukuta' with 'purīta'-shaped ornaments. The dress

and ornaments are as above. The figure to the left is brownish in colour. The right hand is in 'jñāna mudrā' while the left holds a blue water lily. The hair is raised up over the head with jewelled clasps in front and the sides. Dress and ornaments are as above. What, however, is interesting is that each of the gods wears different types of 'kuṇḍalas' or earrings (Pl. X).

(9) On the next folio (Fol. 60a) may be seen a four-handed goddess, reddish in colour, seated cross-legged on a lotus. The main pair of hands are in 'dharmachakrapravartanamudrā'. The upper right hand holds a rosary and the corresponding left a lotus over which is placed a manuscript. She wears a red cloth, and the upper part of the body is bare, except for an 'uttariya' the ends of which are seen passing round the arms of the main pair of hands. The background is white edged with red flames. She wears all kinds of ornaments and a highly elaborated crown.

(10) On the inside of the back cover is a six-handed god, yellowish in colour, standing in 'tribhaṅga' pose. The right hands, from below exhibit 'varada', a rosary, and 'namaskāra mudrā'. The left hands hold from below a lotus by the stalk, a 'ghaṭa', and a three-pronged staff. The figure wears a dhoti and usual ornaments; the upper part of the body is bare. The figure of Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha is inset in front in the 'jaṭāmukuta'. The background is blue, edged with yellowish flames (Pl. XI).

In the same Museum there is another manuscript (No. T. 140, here designated as Ms. "B") of 'Pañcharakshā' copied during the reign of Śivadeva, perhaps identical with a king of the same name for whom we have the dates 239 and 240 (1119 and 1120 A. D.) in two manuscripts from Nepal. On the inside of the front cover may be seen the figures of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, beginning with Ratnasambhava from left, flanked on either side by the figures of two devotees. On the back cover are seen the figures of the eight planets, Ketu, the ninth, being left out. Within the manuscript there are the representations of the five goddesses, evidently those of the 'Pañcharakshā maṇḍala'. The illuminations in this manuscript are much damaged, and they also lack the artistic quality of those of Ms. "A". From the standpoint of iconography each of the five goddesses in Ms. "B", has a general resemblance with her counterpart in Ms. "A", and need not be described in detail. The variations when there

are any, will be referred to in the following section dealing with the iconography of the figures represented.

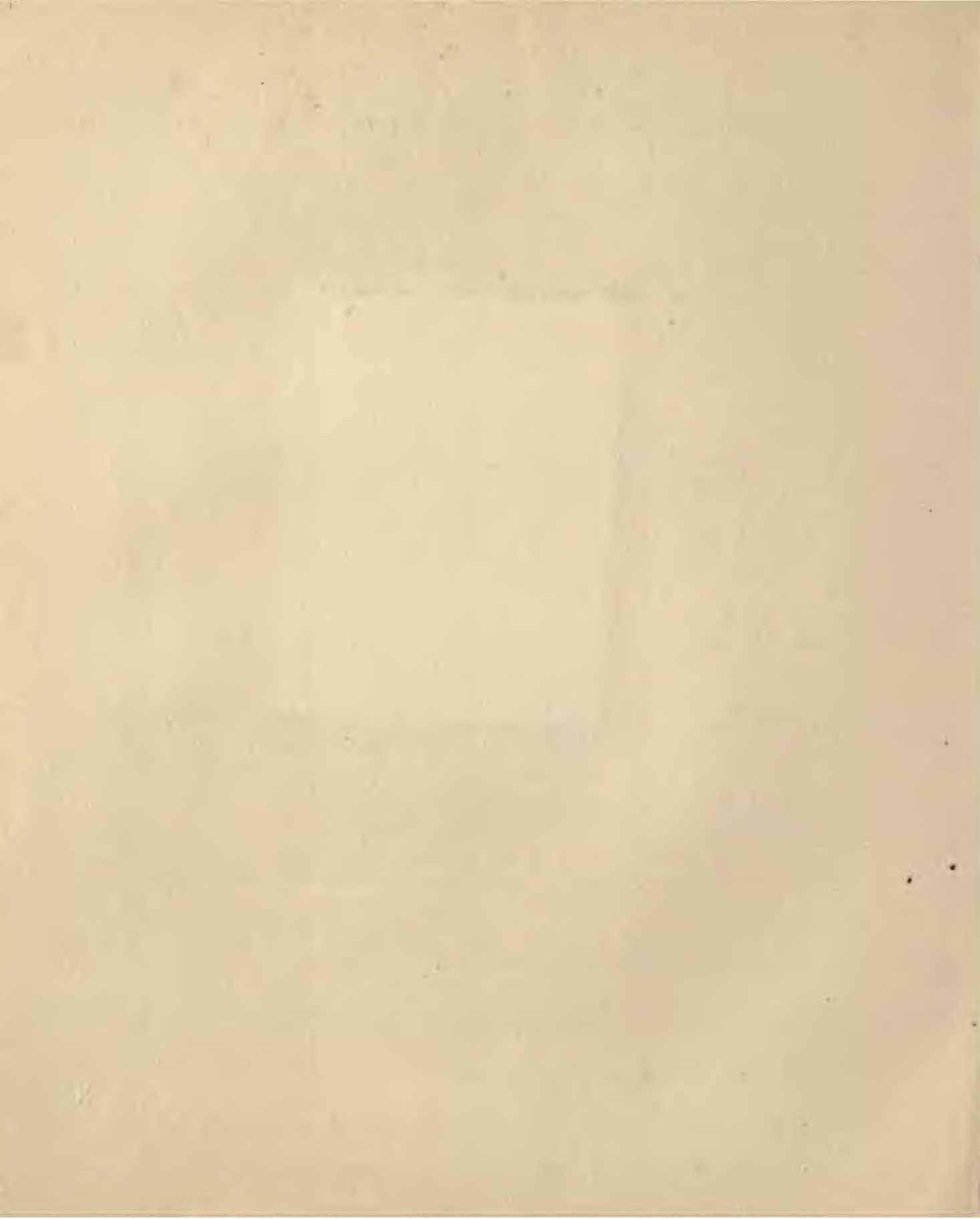
The goddesses of the 'Pañcharakshā' group are highly popular among the Buddhist worshippers, and it is for this that a fairly large number of 'Pañcharakshā' manuscripts with illustrations now survive¹. The deities of the Pañcharakshā maṇḍala are Mahāpratisarā, Mahāsāhasrapramardanī, Mahāmantrānusārini, Mahāmāyūrī and Mahāsītavati. According to the 'Sādhnamālā' the worship of these five goddesses grants long life, protects kingdoms, and secures immunity from evil spirits, diseases and from all dangers that befall humanity. The manuscripts of the work usually contain representations of these five divinities occasionally with illustrations of some more divinities like the Buddha, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Prajñāpāramitā, etc. Manuscript "A" of this paper has five more illustrations in addition to the five goddesses of the Maṇḍala whereas Manuscript "B", besides the illustrations in the two covers has the usual group of five only. According to the Sādhnamālā, Mahāpratisarā is to be placed in the middle of the 'maṇḍala' with the other goddesses surrounding her on four sides; Mahāsāhasrapramardanī to the east, Mahāmāyūrī to the south, Mahāmantrānusārini to the west, and Mahāsītavati to the north. In the manuscripts of 'Pañcharakshā' this order is usually followed. Neither of the two manuscripts, under notice, follows, however, the above order. In our discussion of the iconography of the goddesses, as represented in our manuscripts, the order of the Sādhnamālā is being followed for the sake of convenience.

MAHĀPRATISARĀ : (Ms. A. Fol. 40b ; Ms. B. Fol. 1b).

In Manuscript "A" the illustration of the goddess (No. 6 of the above description) generally corresponds to the Sādhana with, however, very slight variations. Of the eight attributes, 'chakra, vajra', arrow

1. The most important of these is the Cambridge University manuscript (Add. 1695)—copied in the 14th year of King Nayaṇādeva of the Pāla dynasty who is to be placed in the latter half of the 11th century A. D.—i. e. approximately half a century older than Ms. A. under notice. It is copiously illustrated, but unfortunately the illustrations which are likely to help greatly in the study of Buddhist iconography and the style of miniature painting in Eastern India, have not received the attention that is due to them.





and sword in the right hands and 'vajrapāśa, trīśūla', bow and axe in the left, six are clearly recognisable in the present illustration, in the order as given in the Sādhana. The main pair of hands are held near the breast. The right held probably a 'chakra', which however, has peeled off. The left is shown in a pose resembling 'tarjanī mudrā' with a band round the wrist which may stand for the 'pāśa'. The goddess sits in 'vajraparyāṅka', and of the four faces, three are visible in the picture ; but there is some slight variation in the disposition of the colour of the different heads. The additional right head, according to the Sādhana, should be blue, the left red, and the back one yellow. In the illustration of the goddess in manuscript "A", the left head is yellow instead of being red ; while in manuscript "B", the right and left heads are red and blue respectively. The Sādhana also enjoins that the foliage of the Bodhi tree decked with various flowers and fruits should be shown over the head of the goddess. The goddess in Manuscript "A" shows this feature which however, is absent in Manuscript "B".

MAHĀSĀHASRAPRAMARDANĪ : (Ms. A. Fol. 2b ; Ms. B. Fol. 21b).

The illustration of the goddess in manuscript "A" (No. 3, above ; Pl. IX) closely resembles the Sādhana in every detail. The blue complexion, the terrific look, with hair rising up in flames, contorted brows and canine teeth, the background of burning flames, the 'lalita' attitude ; the tree over the head of the goddess, the various ornaments and the attributes closely correspond to the description of the Sādhana. The goddess in manuscript "B", however, is more summarily treated and does not show the fierce mien of the goddess as enjoined in the Sādhana. Further, the goddess sits in 'vajraparyāṅka', instead of in 'lalitāsana' and has ten hands, the attributes that are recognised closely tallying with those of the Sādhana.

MAHĀMĀYŪRĪ : (Ms. A. Fol. 18b ; Ms. B. Fol. 45b).

The representation of the goddess in manuscript "A" (No. 4 of the above description) closely corresponds to the description of the Sādhana. The yellow complexion of the goddess, the number of

additional heads and their colours and the Aśoka tree over the head of the goddess are as in the Sādhana. In the right hands are seen the 'varada', the 'ratnaghaṭa, chakra' and 'khaḍga', as in the Sādhana. The attributes in the left hand, however, call for some comment. The main left hand shows a bowl with the effigy of a figure on it, which may stand for 'patropari bhikshu' (a monk on a bowl) of the text. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya is inclined to take the text as wrong on the basis of an illustration which he reproduces and in which the object on the bowl, according to him, is a fruit. The identification of that object is, however, not beyond doubt, and when in the present illustration it distinctly shows a figure with hair tucked up that may stand for a 'bhikshu', the correctness of the text may clearly be set forth. The second left hand holds the tail of a peacock ; on the third is seen a pot with a four-pronged object ('viśvavajra') over it. And on the fourth is seen a cluster of crests with jewels inset ('ratnadhvaja'). According to the text of the Sādhana, the third hand should hold a 'viśvavajra' over a bell ('ghaṇṭopariviśvavajram'). In both the illustrations under notice as well as the illustration reproduced by Bhattacharyya the object held in the third left hand is clearly a pot ('ghaṭa') and not a bell ('ghaṇṭā') ; and on the basis of these it appears that the proper reading of the text should be 'ghaṭopariviśvavajram' ('viśvavajra' over a pot) and not 'ghaṇṭopari viśvavajram'. The illustration in Manuscript "B" is slightly different in having ten hands and the bowl held in the left hand being empty.

MAHĀMANTRĀNUBĀRINĪ : (Ms. A. Fol. 41a ; Ms. B. Fol. 50b)

The illustration of the goddesses in manuscript "A" (No. 7. of the above description) tallies with the description of the Sādhana except in the fact that the attributes in the fourth and sixth left hands are reversed. That in the manuscript "B" is seriously damaged ; though summarily treated, it corresponds to the Sādhana as far as the different features and attributes can be recognised.

MAHĀSĪTAVATĪ : (Ms. A. Fol. 19a ; Ms. B. Fol. 77b)

The goddesses in Manuscript "A" (No. 5 of the above description) resembles the description of the Sādhana except in one or two details.

The first right hand exhibits the 'vyākhyāna mudrā' instead of 'abhaya' as prescribed by the Sādhana, and the attributes in the second and third left hands are reversed. The bow placed in the third left hand is in accord with the arrow placed in the third right hand, and makes for artistic symmetry. The illustration of the goddess in manuscript "B" has the additional right head in light blue, instead of white as enjoined by the Sādhana.

Manuscript "A" contains five more illustrations in addition to those of the five goddesses. That on the front cover (No. 1 of our description) is Siddhaikavira, a form of Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of wisdom. It should be observed in this connection that it is difficult to distinguish between this form of Mañjuśrī and Lokanātha if the parental Dhyānī Buddhas are not shown on the crests. In the present illustration in spite of the absence of the Dhyānī Buddha it is beyond any doubt because of the manuscript, placed over the lotus held in the left hand, which clearly indicates the association of the god with Mañjuśrī.

The illustration on Fol. 1b (No. 2 of our description) represents Buddha in the act of preaching his first sermon at Sarnath. The central figure of the group of three gods on the Fol. 59b (No. 8; PL X) may be identified with Maitreya, the future Buddha. This identification is clear not only because of the representation of the 'stūpa' on the 'jaṭāmukuta', but also on account of the white complexion and the flower Nāgakeśara held in the left hand. The 'vyākhyānamudrā' shown in the right hand, is not prescribed for Maitreya in any of the known Sādhanas, but that need not be a serious handicap to identification, as exposition of the law is also enjoined as one of his primary functions when his Kalpa would come. The figure to the right corresponds to the Sādhana of Lokanātha but the identification of the god to the left is uncertain at the present state of our knowledge.

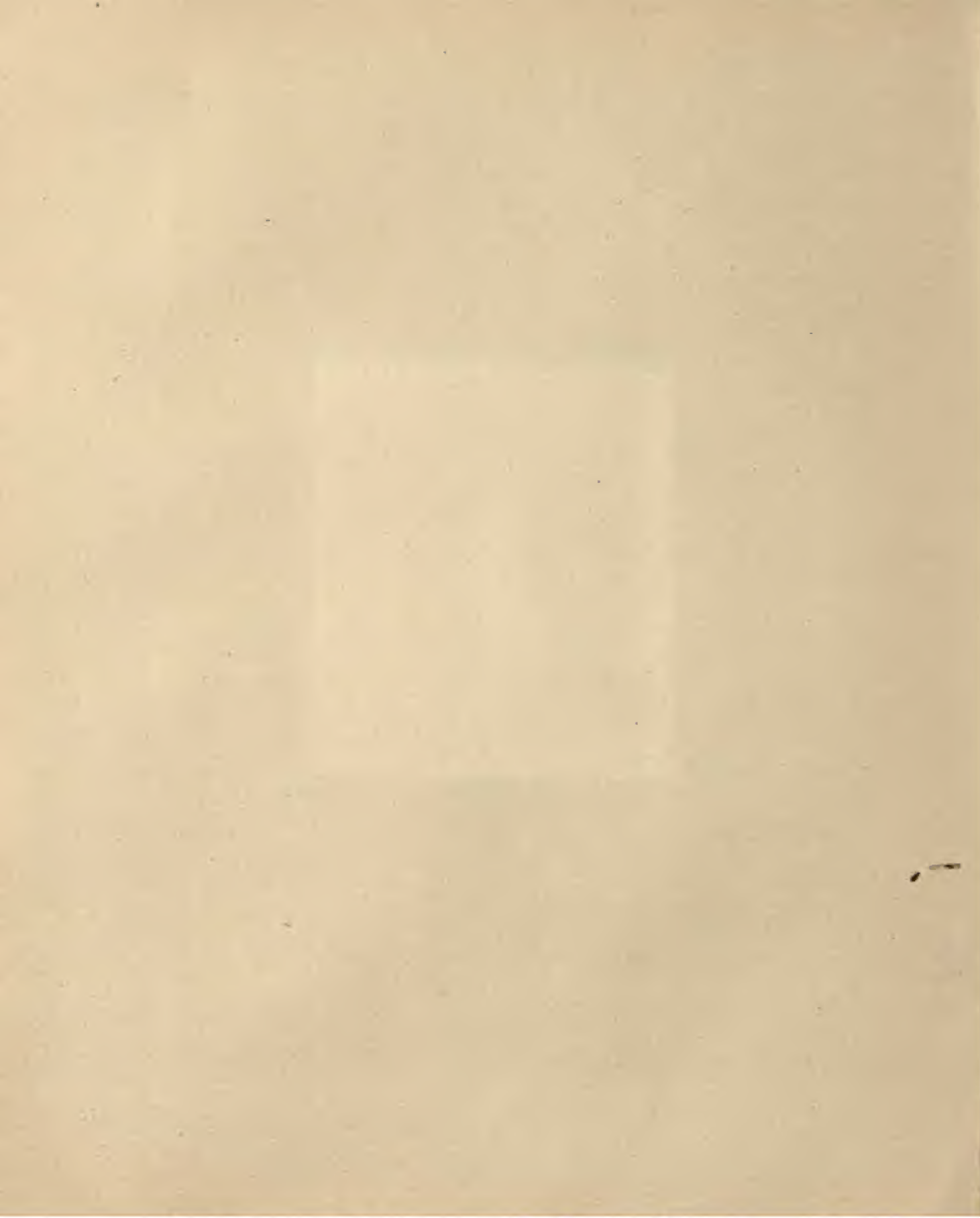
The four-handed figure on Fol. 60a (No. 9 of our description) represents the goddess Prajñāpāramitā in the form in which she is said to have emanated from the five Dhyānī Buddhas collectively. According to the Sādhana she is to have a golden colour, the 'dharmachakrapravartana mudrā' in the main pair of hands and the blue water-lily with the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript over it in the additional left hand and 'abhaya'

in the additional right hands. The present illustration closely corresponds to the description of the Sādhana except in the fact that the present illustration shows the 'akṣhamālā' or rosary, instead of the 'abhaya' as in the Sādhana. Similar representations of the goddess are also met with in sculpture.

The illustration on the back cover (No. 10 of our description) represents a six-handed male divinity, which is not doubt a form of the god Avalokiteśvara, as we know from the effigy of the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha on the matted chignon. Among the Sādhana of Avalokiteśvara is described a six-handed form of the god known as the Sugatisandarśana. This particular form is to have six hands showing 'varada', 'abhaya' and rosary in the right hands and lotus, waterpot and 'tridaṇḍī' (i. e. a staff with three prongs) in the left. The complexion of the god is white. The illustration under notice corresponds to the above description except in some particulars. The colour of the god is a light yellowish tint, instead of white. The three left hands bear attributes as in the Sādhana but there is a discrepancy with regard to those in the right hand. The attributes in the two right hands correspond to those in the Sādhana but the third hand has the 'namaskāra mudrā' instead of the 'abhaya' of the Sādhana. Similar representations of Avalokiteśvara are also found in sculpture. The above discrepancies are, however, very minor and should not stand in the way of identifying it with Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara (Pl. XI).

The two manuscripts under note furnish us with valuable documents of miniature paintings of roughly the first quarter of the 12th century A. D.; though apparently contemporary, they show a well-marked divergence in workmanship and artistic quality. The illuminations in manuscript "A" are finer in their compositional scheme, in execution and in the delineation of details. The lines, fluent and facile, have a charming rhythm, and the colouring is well-balanced. The trees in the background with their variegated foliage add life to the composition. A very rich effect has been given by such details as the elaborate ornaments, the crowns, the embroidered designs of the dress and the multicoloured 'prabhāmaṇḍala' edged with flame designs. The figures are extremely supple and graceful and endowed with an unusual





flexibility even when, according to the Sādhana, they assume the adamantine or 'vajraparyāṅka' attitude. In these respects the illustrations follow the general trend of the contemporary Eastern Indian tradition of manuscript painting. The illustrations in manuscript "B", however, are more summarily treated and are decidedly poorer in workmanship. The lines lack the fluency and rhythm of the former group. The contrast thus furnished by two almost contemporary works affords an interesting study.

ORIGINS OF CONTEMPORARY TEMPLES

by V. M. NARASIMHAN

Many theories are advanced and several changes in the evolution of civilization are cited to trace the origin of temples. Several epigraphical and archaeological records are put forward to give a link between origin and growth of the temples. But I am now taking up the cases of certain temples that are known to have grown up in the past ten decades and am tracing their origin and growth.

About thirty years back a few images lay in the midst of greenwood-trees in fields overgrown with nettle, prickly-pear and Karuvelam, in the village of Ariyakurichi, on a diversion from the road between Nattarasankottai to Kalayarkoil (Ramnad District). Large numbers of people were attracted by the deities especially the Amman (Devī) and large offerings seemed to have been pouring in steadily especially in return for appeals to redress differences with neighbours, the Amman playing the role of a judicial officer, composing differences and collecting dues. There was no shrine and the images had no protection except the shifting shade of the trees and the attention by the serpents which crawled between or sheltered under the huddled images. The devotees used to come at all hours of the day to make their offerings, which included sacrifices of goat and fowl, a Pūjārī of the potter caste (Uvacha or Ocha caste) interceding in the ritual, that is offered in this part of the country to the Śakti-goddesses where the officiating priests are not versed in Sanskrit.

The special hold of this group of gods and goddesses on the devotees in the area round about was that they secured that justice was done to an aggrieved party. For instance, a person who felt that a difference had arisen between himself and a neighbour which ought not to have arisen

if his neighbour had been reasonable, presented himself before this divine group and made a small offering by way of earnest and vowed that if the dispute came to be settled and friendly relations established with his neighbour a special fee would be paid. If he wanted to make sure that his representation was borne in mind, he reduced his grievance to writing preferably in the form of a plaint and strung it to a date-palm that stood some yards off; within about six months the prayer was believed to take effect. A minor deity (Karuppan, the black one) located in a tiny shrine under a dwarfish tree nearby was believed to play the part of process-server.

A creditor who had money to realise from a debtor, who he knew could pay but would not, would approach the deity, make a preliminary offering, represent his case and promise one-half of such amount as might be realised. He would then fasten to this date-palm a scroll containing full particulars of the parties, the claim and the state of accounts. Or, a woman who had been unlucky enough to lose a gold chain or a silver plate, would lay down a small sum by way of earnest, cry out the particulars of her losses in the presence and the hearing of the Divinities and would solemnly undertake to come down with an offering of a half of what might be recovered.

About ten years back, proceedings were started in the law courts and ultimately a scheme of administration was framed, as a result of which the income was ensured almost in its entirety to the Devasthānam and the priests reduced to the role of mere ministrants at the ritual. A set of trustees came into existence and with the large income which came into their hands they have raised a temple which has so far cost about Rs. 75,000/- besides purchasing a large tract of arable land round about for the support of the Devasthānam. The two principal images along with a few of the attendant deities, which were practically lying huddled under the trees, were set up in well-built shrines,—the Devī (Kaliyamman) inhabiting a shrine of stone the exterior surface of which is polished almost in imitation of the Mauryan polish well-known to archaeologists and the shrine of the Deva (Ayyanar or Sasta) not a tithe so grand, stands about 60 feet off facing the other shrine.

The ritual has now deteriorated, the priests have no great interest

in the performance of the rituals, they being paid only a small fraction of the monthly income, but the devotion of the worshippers makes up for the decay in the performance of the ritual even though serpents are no longer crawling about the images. The offerings made to the deities are ever grander and larger as a definite scale of expenditure has now been fixed and the result is that while the mantras and the tantras have receded into the background, the pomp and ceremony of cooked offerings made at stated hours have now come to stay. Reformist tendencies have been at work so that animal sacrifices are not permitted to be made within the 'prākāra'. The formalities in regard to the functioning of the deity as a Court of Conciliation have now been crystallized into a system. The need for keeping accounts of the promises made and the preliminary offerings that accompanied the promises, as that formal audit might be satisfied, and the need for the trustees impressing the devotees that their prayers will be constantly brought to the attention of the Devī till they are granted have been responsible for the introduction of the complication of the processes of Court. It is a curious sight to see the defunct date-palm wearing a garland strung of palm-leaves on which complaints have been engrossed and "copy papers" bearing writing and the marks of Court seals indicating that execution petitions in the Civil Courts of the country have not borne fruit, and on which execution petitions have been indited. But in spite of all this, the devotees do not seem quite satisfied as they were in the past when the images lay under the trees.

II

In the village of Ayyampalayam, Palladam Taluk, Coimbatore District, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the North-east of the Somanur Railway station and led to by a blind road-track is situated a small shrine of quite recent origin to a person who lived in the village.

From what I was able to gather locally, it appears that about a hundred years back a man who was engaged in cultivating plantains was greatly skilled in the Mantras for curing both the immediate and the remote effects of bites of poisonous vermin like snakes, scorpions and insects, that his death took place at the foot of an Arasu tree beside an ant-hill, and that for some time after his death his spirit used to frequent

the neighbourhood of the tree and ant-hill and beckon to passers-by suffering from the effects of poisonous bites and cure them. The spot where the tree and the ant-hill stood having thus risen to importance as a spot sanctified by associations with the Valaitottattu Aiyan (He of the Plantain tope), a Liṅga appears to have been placed at the foot of the tree to mark the spot where his death was believed to have taken place and worship was offered to the tree, the ant-hill and the Liṅga. It is the earth that is thrown up as the ant-hill that seems to have been given as 'prasāda' to those afflicted with poisonous bites for being applied to the spot where the sting or the bite was inflicted. The descendants of Valaitottattu Aiyan appear to have turned into the Pūjārīs of the shrine officiating as such hereditarily. The enquiries that I made, made it clear that there was no tradition of Valaitottattu-Aiyan having been buried under the tree.

Within a decade back the shrine appears to have continued merely as an aggregate of tree, ant-hill and Liṅga, perhaps protected by a compound wall of brick. Within the last few years, however, a large area round about was acquired and various structures by way of shrines, Maṇḍapa, kitchen, rest-houses have been built and amenities for pilgrims provided.

Within the past five or six years the ant-hill appears to have disappeared and earth taken from the spot where it stood is being distributed as 'prasādam'. The Nāga stones and a Vinayaka appear to have been installed in the south-west corner of the precincts round the tree within the past few years and a small shrine to Vinayaka appears to have been raised about 7 or 8 years back some distance to the south-east of the tree, the image being said to have belonged to the family of Valaitottattu-Aiyan. A Nandī is found placed about 70 feet to the east of the tree and the Liṅga. The original tree having withered during the past few years, a stump to the height of about 8 feet has been retained and the rest has been sawed off, but a new plant of some kind is now rising from some crevice in the top of the stump.

It may be noted that the eastern face of the stump is flattish and that if a line is drawn from the centre of the Liṅga so as to strike this face at right angles, the line runs almost due east and just misses the Nandī

about 70 feet off and also misses some-what a pair of horses in brick-work posted 70 feet farther east.

III

In the village of Mandarthi, Udipi Taluk, South Kanara District, about 14 miles to the north of Udipi stands a temple to Śrī Durgā Parameśvarī on a slope of a series of undulations in hilly country to reach which we have to pass a thick jungle in which serpents crawl and panthers range.

The temple serves a special purpose in the locality. The deity also is believed to be willing to collect all outstandings due to her devotees.

It is surprising that the real character of the temple was not known even to the Archakas of the temple who appear to have been attached to it for generations and should have had access to every recess of the 'sanctum sanctorum' which in this temple is divided into an eastern and western half and that the eastern half accommodates in the middle a seated stone image of Durgā with a shelf to the rear with the Nava Durgās ranged on it in two tiers. The shelf and the nine heads serve as a sort of screen obscuring practically the whole of the western half, so much so that a worshipper who pays his obeisance to the Durgā and the Nava Durgās would not easily notice what stands behind. If his eyes are keen and he is curiously minded, he would notice,—only with effort,—that there is a shrine further beyond and that it contains something peculiar. If he questions the Archakas, he would be told that the rear half is occupied by an ant-hill which, as is well known, is an object of adoration.

When I paid my devotions to the Durgā and was told of the Ant-hill, I desired to have fuller particulars of that special feature and to examine it for myself, but, as this was impossible in view of the rigidity with which in these parts the prohibition is enforced against others than Archakas entering the 'sanctum sanctorum' I had to incite the Archaka who served as my cicerone to examine the rear shrine with adequate care. After considerable persuasion the Archaka entered the rear half of the shrine with a light in his hand and it was only then that it was possible to have a good look at what had been assumed to be the ant-hill. I found that it loomed large, that it stood at the centre of the rear half

and that it was fenced in by railings on all the four sides, leaving a narrow strip between railing and wall to serve as a passage. The object in the centre, however, gave no indication of the conical shape of an ant-hill and betrayed no signs of the unevenness of surface, the coarseness of texture and the perforations, large and small, which characterise an ant-hill. What is more, the top had all the appearance of a plane surface. I suggested therefore that the object should be tapped at lightly, though gently, as a test of its substance. On the Archaka dealing it a series of light taps, there arose sounds peculiar to timber and not the dull note emitted when an ant-hill is tapped. This emboldened the Archaka to attempt to clean the surface of the object and it turned out, after some cleaning that we had before us not an ant-hill but an upstanding block of wood. The Archaka being encouraged to pursue the investigation, cleaned further areas and we found that we had to deal with a big size stump of a tree. The stump was about 2 feet in diameter and about 7 feet in height, and ended at the top in a plane surface, where evidently, the tree had been sawn off when it had suffered mortality.

On this fact being discovered I suggested to the Archaka that he should look for a Liṅga at the foot of the stump. The Archaka examined the sanctum carefully and found a tiny Sphaṭika-Liṅga placed at the foot of the stump.

These facts seem to point to a stage when the sanctity of the spot arose from a sacred tree at the foot of which some devotee had ages ago set up a Liṅga and offered worship to it and had then railed it round for the safety both of the tree and of the Liṅga. A further stage was reached perhaps when, in addition to the railing, a compound wall was raised at some distance from the railing, and the image to Durgā was set up where it now stands. At a later stage, the tree must have decayed and its top must have been lopped off and a roof provided over the compound wall, so as to protect the stump, and the protection of both wall and roof must have been extended eastwards for the benefit of the Durgā as well. That this conjecture is a highly probable one is attested to by a slab in this temple on which is carved a relief showing a Liṅga under a tree and a Rishi and his companions offering worship to the

Liṅga. Evidently, this is a pictorial commentary on the first stage of the origin of this temple.

IV

In Tadpatri Town in Anantapur District, on the edge of the River Pennar, which here takes a northerly curve, there is a temple called Śrī Bugga Rāmaliṅga Īśvara Temple which is conserved under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.

This temple consists of four features (a) a main shrine for Śrī Rāmaliṅga, facing west, (b) a small shrine to Vīra-Bhadra just to the south of the Garbha-gṛha of this temple (c) a double shrine facing south and west, with a common Maṇḍapa, and (d) a belt of Maṇḍapas attached to the east and west walls.

The peculiar feature in this temple is that the lower portion of the Liṅga always contains water in the cavity between the vertical and the horizontal portions. Probably due to this the Īśvara is called "Bugga" Rāma Liṅga. The Liṅga is fixed on the floor which level is a little less than the Prākāra floor level. Probably a vertical stone standing in a natural spring suggested the idea of a Liṅga bathed in a sacred Tīrtha. Here we should have the beginnings of a temple.

V

Almost of identical nature is the Liṅga in the Śrī Jambukeśvara Temple at Tiruvanaikaval near Śrīraṅgam in the District of Trichinopoly.

A similar example is found at the Śrī Raṅganātha Perumal Temple at Karamadai, a town on the Railway line between Coimbatore and Mettupalayam about 17 miles from Coimbatore. Here the Mūlasthānam or the Mūla Bhera consists of a flat piece of vertical stone fixed on the floor of the Garbha-gṛha. Afterwards a Pīṭham in two halves has been fixed on it and now on the Pīṭham is placed the head of the Lord.

VI

A peculiar origin is suggested by a temple at Mangalagiri (Guntur District) situated on the Railway line connecting Bezwada and Guntur about 12 miles from Bezwada. In the hill temple to Lord

Narasimha popularly called "Panaka (jaggery water) Narasimha" the Mūla Bhera-is nothing but a small oval orifice on the rear wall of the sanctum sanctorum (Garbha-gṛha) which forms the hill peak. This orifice is depicted as the open mouth of the image of Lord Narasimha, carved on the peak. When Panaka is poured into the mouth it goes into the orifice. The popular belief is that this Lord will take only half the quantity of the total quantity of Panaka offered, however small or large the quantity that may be offered.

VII

About one hundred years ago, one Nārāyaṇa Padayachi found a big cutstone pillar, broken at the top, in a forest near Ariyalur, a place on the Trichy-Villupuram Chord Line and near Trichinopoly Town. It is believed that by some divine inspiration he met with the Stambha and that, as commanded by a Siddha, he erected it on the spot where it was lying and after doing so built a small Maṇḍapa all round it. In course of time, the Stambha became very popular and attracted a large number of worshippers who came from far and near places and offered all kinds of Kanikkais.

Today we see this temple consisting of a big compound with many Maṇḍapas and with Utsava Bheras installed for performing festivals as in any other temple. This temple is now called Śrī Kaliyuga Varadarāja Perumal Temple at Kallan-Kurichi and has become so popular that it gets an annual income of nearly a lakh of rupees. Still the 'sanctum sanctorum' has the Stambha erected in its centre and standing right up piercing the ceiling. The Stambha is almost square in section and has tapering sides with the top broken. All 'abhishekas' and 'archanas' are performed to this Stambha only. To create faith and confidence in the minds of the worshippers, Utsava images have been installed and a small Hanumān-like deity is placed on the Pīṭham built around the Stambha.

So ancient, however, is the cult of the Pillar that we need not take too seriously the story of Nārāyaṇa Padayachi's inspiration. Perhaps this is a tribute to the fame of the Stambha which had a revival about a century back.

CONCLUSION

The instances cited above show that usually some natural phenomenon noticed suggested the idea of a Liṅga or God which formed the origin of the temple and the 'sanctum sanctorum' making a beginning. As time advanced, many additions, structures as well as images, came to be made and the pomp and ceremonial connected with them began to grow larger and larger till they reached a gorgeousness competing with those in the most grandiose of ancient institutions.

THE HERITAGE OF WU TAO-TZU

by ZOLTAN DE TAKATS



Wu Tao-tzu was "the Man of Destiny" of Chinese pictorial art. His influence seems to have been perpetual. Recent researches repeatedly resulted in acknowledging his undeniable mastership.

The case regarding the recognition of his immediate followers is quite different. The principles of his composition, his motives, the various types of his figures are already known to some extent. But the reconstruction of the art of his handwriting seems to be hardly possible. The copies from his famous Kwan-Yin, imitations of an undisputable original, largely differ from it in time and quality. It is nearly impossible to give an account of the quantity

of such copies. The designs made after his great mythological compositions—edited by F. R. Martin, 'Zeichnungen nach Wu Tao-tze aus der Goetter und Sagenwelt Chinas', München, 1913—are secondhand documents, and in spite of their immeasurable value, poor in comparison with the imaginable originals.

The secrets of Wu Tao-tzu's conception and feeling have been handed down far better by the well known engraving on a slab inserted in the terrace wall of the Taoist temple Tou-Wang-tien at Ch'ü Yang. It discloses a most peculiar, or even a unique, style in the design of the structure and the movement of muscles. The master has taken, according to the copyist, much freedom, at the cost, and to the detriment,

of anatomical correctness. The muscles of his figures are divided, partly by lines drawn crosswise, into rather loose bundles, partly they seem to be in a spasmodic contraction. (Martin, Pls. 35, 47, 48, 49, 50).

The same exaggerations are seen on a stone relief which I have purchased in Peking for the Francis Hopp Museum in Budapest, representing a crouching figure with staring and slanting eyes (Fig., p. 109). I was told by Dr. Herbert Müller, the former owner of this work, that it originally decorated the wall of a pagoda in Honan, on the hill Ts'ing-Liang-shan, district Yü-sha-hsien. It played there the part of an Atlas.

The figure is extremely expressive, but it is a bombastic exaggeration in stone of what the "divine master" once created in painting. The size of the sculpture is 42.5 by 36 cm. On its surface remains of pigments can be seen. The entire apparel of the figure consists of a pair of boots of some perforated material. The perforations form an endless pattern of interchanged rosettes. The boots are trimmed below the knees with a folded stuff.

The conception of this figure is related on the one hand to the crouching savages on the throne of the Yakushi Buddha of the Yakushiji which are older (697), and on the other hand to that on the glazed terracotta plate of the Seoul Museum (P. Andreas Eckardt, O. S. B., 'Geschichte der Koreanischen Kunst', Leipzig, 1929. Pl. CXI, Fig. 353) which in my opinion, seems to be a later work. On this rather stiff figure the string-like formation of the locks is very similar to those of the demon from Honan. The Yakushi figures are marvellous castings, but compared with our stone carving they represent a not quite freely developed state.

The Honan work is full of extravagancies. And it is not derogatory to China's greatest painter genius that he also had been very fond of extravagancies, of distorted and ghastly figures, treated with a wanton superiority. This is just the very element which impresses the Chinese mind above everything else, and it is called "shen" (divine) in Chinese art.

The Atlas-demon of the Francis Hopp Museum reveals the free and ravishing flight of Wu Tao-tzu's spirit, the spirit of that incomparable





master who was—a circumstance not to be forgotten—a native of Honan, a province once abundant with his works.

But even such an abstract and ritually defined art as Lamaistic painting conserved something of Wu Tao-tzu's remote magical touch. It is worthwhile in this respect, to pay attention to a painting in the possession of the Francis Hopp Museum in Budapest, Hungary (Pl. XII). This painting, representing the Dākinī Sīṃhavaktrā, seems to date from the Ming period.

The following is an iconographical description of this work of art :

Sīṃhavaktrā (Tib. *Señ-ge-gdoñ* [-can] ma or *Sen-gdon-ma*), the Dākinī with a Lion head, is represented with two attendant sorceresses : to the left *Vyāgravaktrā* (Tib. *sTag-gdoñ-ma*), and to the right *Ṛkṣavaktrā* (Tib. *Dom-gdoñ-ma*).

The size of the canvas is 48 cm by 33 cm, mounted on Chinese brocade of the Ming period. (Francis Hopp Museum, Inv. Nr. 6300).

The Dākinīs are minor goddesses. They are generally invoked for granting superhuman power or Siddhi.

A particular figure of these beings is Sīṃhavaktrā whose body is blue. Her face is white (sometimes red). She has a third eye on her forehead. She is dancing, surrounded by a halo of rays and flames, on the back of a naked human being floored on her lotus throne. Her right foot is lifted. She wears Dharmapāla dress and ornaments ; on her head a five-leaved crown with five human heads (?). In her left hand the scull-cup (*kapāla*) and in the right one the chopper (*karttrikā*) and the ritual wand (*khatvāṅga*). On her waist a string of human heads and on her back a human and a tiger's skin.

Under the lotus throne, is suspended on a partly coloured strip, a round golden mirror with the tiny picture of Sīṃhavaktrā. In the middle of the bottom an ornamented 'kapāla', containing a tongue hanging out, and two eyes, two ears, a nose, the brain and, on a piece of skin, the human heart, under an embroidered black (?) cloth.

In the lower left corner the dancing *Vyāgravaktrā* with tiger's head and in the right one *Ṛkṣavaktrā* with bear's head also have the third eye, the 'kapāla' in the left, and the chopper in the right hand, and

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SIXTEEN JAINA MAHĀVIDYĀS

by U. P. SHAH

Sixteen Mahāvidyās form a group of Tāntric goddesses according to both the Jain sects (the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara).

Jaina writers have drawn a line of distinction between 'mantra' and 'vidyā'. Both possess magic powers, but whereas 'mantras', constituted of letters like 'Om, Hrīm, Svāhā', etc., are presided over by male deities and mastered by repetition, 'vidyās' are combinations of words invoking female divinities and mastered only by the prescribed rite.¹

Jaina traditions speak of the existence of as many as 48,000 'vidyās'. Out of these only sixteen are reported to be the chief ('Mahā') 'vidyās'. Texts prescribing 'sādhana's' or rites for each of these sixteen Mahāvidyās are not yet traced, but belief in them seems to be ancient.²

Both the Buddhist and Jaina sources demonstrate the popularity of spells, magic, 'mantras', 'vidyās', the science of divination, etc., in the time of Mahāvīra and Buddha.³ Like Buddha, Mahāvīra also could not totally discard the belief in magic powers and supernatural cognition obtained through austerities. The Aupapātika sūtra⁴ says that the 'therās' ('sthaviras') following Mahāvīra knew both the 'vijjā' and 'manta'. Mantrapiṇḍa and Vidyāpiṇḍa or the alms obtained through the practice of mantra or vidyā are strictly prohibited by the Uttarādhyayana sūtra.⁵ The Sūtrakṛtāṅga sūtra⁶ refers to 'Antaddhānī vijjā', while the Nāyādhammakahāo refers to the 'utpatanī' ('uppayani') vidyā. The latter text also shows that thieves knew certain vidyās and mantras useful in robbery, one of them being the power to open any lock. Or a certain lady named Poṭṭilā is reported to have requested a group of Jaina nuns to show her some powder, mantra, rite, 'vaśīkarma', etc., whereby she can regain the love of her husband. The description of the venerable ascetic Sudharmā,

one of the chief disciples of Mahāvīra, given in the same text, is also noteworthy inasmuch as he is said to be conversant with both 'vijjā' and 'manta', along with many other things.⁴

The 'Jāṅgoli-vijjā' or the vidyā for removing the effects of poisons etc., is known to the Sthānāṅga sūtra. The same text also refers to the 'Mātaṅga vidyā' which the commentator also explains as a vidyā for knowing the past history.⁵ The Mahāniśītha sūtra supposed to have been composed a little later and afterwards re-edited by Haribhadra sūri (c. 700-770 A. D.), gives the 'vijjā' for throwing scented powder (vāsakṣepa). It also gives the 'Śrutadevatā-vidyā' and the 'Varddhamāna vidyā'. It may be noted here that Vajrasvāmī, a great Jaina Pontiff who lived in the sixth century after Mahāvīra, is reputed to be the author of the first work on this 'Varddhamāna vidyā'.⁶

Sūtrakṛtāṅga sūtra, the second Jaina canonical text, gives a list of forbidden sciences, 'pāpaśrutas', which includes divination of various sorts and the following vidyās : 'Vaitālī', 'Ardhavaitalī', 'Avasvāpanī', 'Tāluggāḍaṇī', 'Śvapākī', 'Sovārī', 'Dāmili', 'Kālīṅgī', 'Gaurī', 'Gāndhārī', 'Āvedanī', 'Utpatani', 'Jambhani', 'Stambhani', 'Lesanī', 'Āmayakaraṇī', 'Viśalyakaraṇī', 'Antardhānī', and so forth.⁷

The Samavāyāṅga sūtra⁸ also mentions a list of 'pāpaśrutas' or sinful sciences wherein are included, besides others, the 'Vidyānuyoga', the 'Mantrānuyoga', and the 'Yogānuyoga'. According to the commentator Abhayadeva (c. 1046 A. D.), Vidyānuyoga is the science which prescribes rites for vidyās like 'Rohiṇī' and others.

The Daśavaikalika sūtra⁹ mentions 'Avanāmini' and 'Unnāmini vidyās' possessed by a Mātaṅga. The Niśītha sūtra (xiii uddeśa) is full of references to vidyā, mantra, yoga, cūrṇa, etc., and says that a sādhu shall perform the prescribed penance if he employs these for or communicates to the followers of other sects or even Jaina householders.

The Niśītha Bhāṣya refers to Ratnadevatā, Śuci-vidyās and 'Mātaṅga vidyās' named 'Gaurī' and 'Gāndhārī'.¹⁰ The Bṛhat-kalpa Bhāṣya also describes these two vidyās as 'Mātaṅga vidyās'.¹¹

The earliest Jaina account of the origin and worship of Vidyādevīs and the Vidyādharaś available to-day is the Vasudevahiṇḍī of Saṅghadāsa gani (c. 500 A. D.). Similar accounts are given by Jinadāsa Mahattara,

the author of *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī* (c. 677 A. D.), by Haribhadra sūri in his gloss on the *Āvaśyaka nirukti*, by Śīlaṅka sūri in his *Caupannamahāpuruṣacariyam* (868 A. D.) and still later by Hemacandra (c. 1100-1167 A. D.) in his *Triṣaṣṭī-śalākā-puruṣacaritam*.

According to Hemacandra, once upon a time when the first Jina Rṣabhanātha was practising austerities, Nami and Vinami went to him and began worshipping him with the desire of obtaining worldly prosperity from the Lord. But the great sage was in meditation and remained unconcerned. Thereupon, Dharāṇa, the king of the Nāgakumāras, came on the spot and in order that the worship of the Lord may not be spoken of as fruitless, granted to Nami and Vinami, Lordship over the Vidyādharas. Both the devotees were asked to found two groups of cities on the Northern and Southern slopes of the Vaitāḍhya mountain and were given forty-eight thousand vidyās, Gaurī and Prajñāpti being the chief amongst them.

Nami founded fifty cities on the Vaitāḍhya mountain in a Southern row while Vinami made sixty in a Northern one. There were sixteen clans of Vidyādharas named after the class of vidyās they possessed. Hemacandra gives the following list : Gaureyās from the vidyās known as 'Gaurīs', Manupūrvakas from the vidyās known as 'Manus', Gāndhārās from the 'Gāndhārīs', Mānavās from the 'Mānavīs', Kaiśikī-pūrvakas from the 'Kaiśikīs', Bhūmituṇḍakas from 'Bhūmituṇḍas', Mūlavīryakas from 'Mūlavīryas', Saṅkukās from 'Saṅkukās', Pāṇḍukās from 'Pāṇḍukīs', Kālikeyās from 'Kālīs', Śvapākas from 'Śvapākīs', Mātāṅgas from the 'Mātāṅgīs', Pārvatās from the 'Pārvatis', Vaṃśālayās from the 'Vaṃśālayās', Pāṃsumūlakās from the 'Pāṃsumūlas', and Vṛkṣamūlakas from the 'Vṛkṣamūlas'.

Nami took eight classes and Vinami took eight. With their hearts filled with joy and devotion to the Lord, they established divinities presiding over the vidyās in each class.¹⁹ Hemacandra's list of the sixteen groups given above follows the ancient traditions as it agrees with the list given by Jinadāsa in his *Āvaśyaka cūrṇī*.²⁰ Jinadāsa, however, notes that the forty-eight thousand vidyās originally belong to the Gandharvas and the Pannagas and that only four, namely, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Rohiṇī and Prajñāpti were the chief amongst them. Haribhadra

sūri who wrote his gloss on the *Āvaśyaka nirukti*,¹⁴ about a century later, refers to the above mentioned four goddesses only as the chief vidyās. He however gives the account in an abridged form and does not give the list of the sixteen classes of the Vidyādhara. The *Āvaśyaka nirukti*, is a sort of commentary on the *Āvaśyaka sūtra*, composed after the manner of the Brahmanical sūtras and sometimes giving only the suggestive words ; it was composed by Bhadrabāhu II in c. the fourth—fifth century A. D. The account of Nami and Vinami is first suggested in this nirukti, but it neither mentions any of the chief vidyās nor does it refer to the sixteen classes of the Vidyādhara.

According to the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, composed by Saṅghadāsa gaṇi in c. 500 A. D., the vidyās originally belonged to the Gandharvas and the Pannagas and were forty-eight thousand in number including vidyās like 'Mahā-Rohiṇī', 'Paṇṇatti' (Prajñapti), 'Gori' (Gaurī), 'Vijjumukhi' (Vidyutmukhi), 'Mahājālā' (Mahājvālā), 'Tirikkhamāṇī', 'Bhaurūpā' and others. Hemacandra's list of the sixteen classes of Vidyādhara practically agrees with the list given by Saṅghadāsa.¹⁵ Besides the above mentioned vidyās, Saṅghadāsa refers to some other goddesses like 'Abhogini', 'Osovanī', 'Jalavanti' ? (same as 'Mahā-Jāla-vijjā'), 'Thambhani', 'Nisumbha', 'Pannaga-vijjā Bhamari', 'Veyālavijjā', etc.¹⁶

But the account of Nami and Vinami is available in a still earlier Jaina narrative work called *Paumacariyam*, composed by Vimala sūri, of the Nāila Śākhā of Śvetāmbara monks which is supposed to have been started by Ārya Nāila, a pupil of Vajrasvāmī in c. 150 V. S. But a verse at the end of this work says that it was composed in the year 530 after Mahāvīra, that is, in 4 A. D. Scholars like Jacobi, Keith and Woolner assigned to it a date varying from the third to the fifth century A. D., while Winternitz, Leumann and others did not find any justification for discarding the date given in the text itself. *Paumacariyam* contains a short account of Nami and Vinami obtaining lordship over the Vidyādhara. Neither the sixteen classes nor the chief vidyās are mentioned in this account. But in other places the text refers to a number of vidyās.

The text deals with the story of Rāma, wherein the author describes in one chapter the 'vidyādhara-vaṃśa'. Rāvaṇa and his brethren are

said to have propitiated several vidyās, amongst whom are found names like 'Prajñapti', 'Kaumārī', 'Aṇimā', 'Laghimā', 'Vajrodarī', 'Varuṇī', 'Aisānī', 'Vijayā', 'Jayā', 'Vārāhī', 'Kauberī', 'Yogeśvari', 'Caṇḍālī', 'Madanāsani', 'Śaṅkarī', and so forth. In another place Rāvaṇa's sādhana of the 'Bahurūpā vidyā' is described at length. Bahurūpā is here called a Mahā-vidyā. Paumacariyam also refers to other vidyās amongst whom one 'Sīhavāhini' (Sīphavāhini) bestowed upon Padma (Rāma) by a god is noteworthy. In another place we meet with a Sarvvakāmā-vidyā of eight letters ; another vidyā with a 'parivāra' of ten thousand crores of mantras is said to have been made up of sixteen letters.¹⁷

Raviṣena, a Digambara writer, composed Padmacaritam in the year 1203 after Mahāvīra (676 A. D.). It is more or less a Sanskr̥t version of the Prākṛt Paumacariyam, and the vidyās noted above are also referred in this work. Like the Paumacariyam it does not refer to either the sixteen classes of vidyādhara or the sixteen chief vidyās, though one of the Mahā-vidyās, namely, 'Prajñapti', is known to both.¹⁸

Another Digambara narrative work called Harivaṃśa written by Jināsena I in Śaka year 705 (783-4 A. D.) supports the tradition of Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi, Vasudevahiṇḍi and other texts in giving the account of Nami and Vinami, and further states that of the vidyādhara, the following eight classes, namely, 'Manus, Mānavas, Kauśikas, Gaurikas, Gāndhāras, Bhūmituṇḍakas, Mūlavīryas and Śaṅkukas', belonged to the Āryas, Ādityas, or Gandharvas while the other eight, namely, the 'Mātāṅga', the 'Pāṇḍuka', the 'Kāla', the 'Śvapāka', the 'Parvata', the 'Vaṃśālaya', the 'Pāṇḍumūla', and the 'Vṛkṣamūla', classes belonged to the Daityas, the Pannagas or the Mātāṅgas.¹⁹ This division into the Ārya vidyās and the Daitya vidyās opens a new road of investigation in the evolution of Indian Tantra.

The Harivaṃśa further gives the following iconographical description of these sixteen classes of vidyādhara : the Gaurikas hold the lotus and wear a garland of lotuses ; the Gāndhāras put on a red woollen 'shawl' and carry the rosary of red beads ; the Mānavas put on golden and yellow kauśeya garments and shine with variegated colours ; the Manuputrakas wearing reddish garments are adorned with jewels ; the Mūlavīryas shining with ornaments and garlands of various colours and types carry various

kinds of shrubs in their hands ; the Bhūmituṇḍakas, living underground, are adorned with golden ornaments and garlands and (carry) flowers of all seasons ; the Śaṅkukas wear kuṇḍalas of diverse design and colour as also the armlets of nāga-design ; the Kauśikās wear crowns and kuṇḍalas beset with jewels ; black like clouds, the Mātāṅgas are adorned with dark-blue garments and necklaces ; the Smaśānanilayas wear ornaments of bones collected from cremation grounds and appear white besmeared with the ashes therefrom , the Pāṇḍukas wear costly garments of dark-blue hue ; the Kālaśvapākas (Kālas) wear garments of black goat-skin ; the Śvapākas with brown hair shine with ornaments of gold ; the Pārvateyas adorned with crowns and garlands, put on garments of leaves ; the Vamśālaya wear garlands made of flowers of all seasons and are adorned with crests of bamboo-leaves ; while the Vṛkṣamūlikas shine with big cobras used as ornaments.²⁰

Besides the lists of the sixteen classes of vidyādhara, the author of the Harivaṃśa gives a list of Mahā-vidyās and states that the following vidyās, belonging to the above-mentioned sixteen classes, are assigned the chief position amongst all vidyās : 'Prajñapti', 'Rohiṇī', 'Aṅgārīṇī', 'Mahā-Gaurī', 'Gaurī', 'Mahaśvetā', 'Māyūrī', 'Ārya-Kūṣmāṇḍa-devī', 'Acyutā', 'Āryavatī', 'Gāndhārī', 'Nirvṛtiḥ', 'Bhadra-Kālī', 'Mahā-Kālī', 'Kālī', and 'Kālamukhī'.²¹

The list is important in as much as, besides being one of the earliest complete lists of the sixteen vidyās available to us, it differs largely from the somewhat later lists supplied by writers of both the sects. According to these later traditions, the sixteen Mahāvidyās are : 1. 'Rohiṇī', 2. 'Prajñapti', 3. 'Vajraṣṇīkhalā', 4. 'Vajrāṅkuṣā', 5. 'Cakreśvarī (Śve)', 'Jāmbunadā (Dig.)', 6. 'Naradattā' or 'Puruṣadattā', 7. 'Kālī', 8. 'Mahā-Kālī', 9. 'Gaurī', 10. 'Gāndhārī', 11. 'Sarvāstra-mahājvālā (Śve.)', 'Jvalāmālīṇī (Dig.)', 12. 'Mānavī', 13. 'Vairoṭyā (Śve)', 'Vairoṭī (Dig.)', 14. 'Acchuptā (Śve.)', 'Acyutā (Dig.)', 15. 'Mānaśī', 16. 'Mahā-Mānaśī'.²²

An incomplete work called Saṃhitāsāra²³ attributed to the great Digambara ācārya Indranandi (c. 861 Śaka year ; 939 A. D.) gives a list of these Mahāvidyās. According to this text, the fifth vidyā-devī is called 'Apraticakrā' while the names of other vidyās do not differ from the list noted above. Though a list of the sixteen Mahāvidyās is not available

in the *Ādipurāṇa* of the Digambara writer Jinasena II (c. 815-877 A. D.) or in the *Uttarapurāṇa* of his pupil Guṇabhadra, Mahāvidyās like Prajñapti and Mahājvalā were known to them.³⁴

Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, as shown above, only four goddesses were known as Mahā-vidyās up to the time of Haribhadra sūri (c. 700-800 A. D.). But the Tijayapahutta stotra attributed to Mānadeva sūri (before the 9th century A. D.) gives a list of the sixteen vidyādevīs. Again, the Pārśvanātha stotra of Śivanāga (c. 893 A.D) refers to Pārśvanātha as the Lord of the sixteen vidyās.³⁵ Śīlāṅka, the author of *Caupannamahāpuruṣa-cariyam* (c. 868 A. D.), giving an abridged account of Nami and Vinami, says that they were granted lordship over 48,000 mahā-vidyās with 'Prajñapti' as the chief amongst them. Evidently, Śīlāṅka followed an early tradition even though several more Mahā-vidyās were known in his times.³⁶

One more Śvetāmbara tradition deserves special notice. Both Bappabhaṭṭi sūri³⁷ (c. 743-838 A. D.) and Śobhana muni (c. 973 A. D.)³⁷ composed short hymns in adoration of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. Along with each Tīrthaṅkara they generally praised one goddess (and rarely a god) who is usually one of the sixteen Mahāvidyās. Both do not maintain the same order which shows that no special association was intended between the Jina and the vidyā praised together with him. It is indeed surprising to find the Mahā-vidyās invoked together with the different Tīrthaṅkaras instead of their attendant yakṣiṇīs.

In the following pages is discussed the iconography of the sixteen Mahā-vidyās known to the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara Jaina sects from c. 800 A. D. Images or paintings of these goddesses are very rare though their popularity in ancient Jaina ritual is attested by literary sources. As yet no sculpture or painting of a Digambara Mahā-vidyā is brought to light but future researches carried out with the help of the following iconographic tables may result in some interesting discoveries.

Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, a very valuable set of sculptures is fortunately preserved in the dome of the sabhā-maṇḍapa of the famous shrine, Vimala vasahī at Ābu, built by Vimala sāha in 1088 V. S. The shrine underwent repairs later in c. 1378 V. S., but the sculptures published seem to be the work of the artists of Vimala sāha. Another set is preserved

in a similar dome in the Lūṇa Vasahī, built by Tejahpāla at Ābu in 1232 A. D. Almost half of the extant sculptures in the Lūṇa vasahī set are ugly copies placed there by modern, crude hands. Two more sets, one showing the Mahā-vidyās in a standing posture and the other representing them in a sitting posture, are preserved on the outer wall of the shrine of the Kharatara-vaṣahī, Ābu, built in the sixteenth century A. D. It was not possible to photograph these two sets for want of proper facilities.²⁸

A set of six-armed Mahā-vidyās, arranged in a beautiful circle round a sixteen-petalled full-grown lotus and each standing on a small lotus, the whole group creating the impression of a circular dance full of movement, is preserved in a corridor ceiling in front of cell no. 41, Vimāla vasahī. The set seems to be a later addition and represents a tradition which is different from the main set noted above. Identifications of a few of these six-armed figures are attempted in the following pages with but little success and should be regarded as tentative. Even in the main set the task of recognising the different vidyās has not been fully fruitful. All the figures of the main set are described in the following analysis and arranged according to their number in the standard lists of Maha-vidyās available in mediaeval Jaina literature. In the Vimāla vasahī itself they are placed in circular order, beginning with Rohiṇī whose identification cannot be questioned and who tops the lists of vidyā-devīs.

A palm-leaf manuscript of seven different works bound in one volume (folios numbered in a consecutive order), preserved in the Jaina Bhaṇḍāra at Chāṇī, contains miniatures of the sixteen Mahā-vidyās, Sarasvatī, Ambikā, Lakṣmī, Brahma-śānti and Kaparddī on different folios. Stylistically, the set belongs to the thirteenth century A. D. Hitherto it was erroneously supposed that the manuscript contains a date, V. S. 1218. But Muni Puṇyavijaya, a veteran Jaina scholar, who has carefully examined the manuscript, says that a reference to the death of Vijayasena sūri in V. S. 1301, at the end of 'Piṇḍa-niryukti', on folios 131-32, shows clearly that the manuscript was copied some time after A. D. 1245.²⁹

Rohiṇī who stands at the top in all Jaina lists of Vidyādevīs, is so called because she makes the seed of 'puṇya' grow up.³⁰ Her great prowess is praised everywhere and she is said to protect the worshippers.³¹

The Digambara yakṣiṇī of the second Jina Ajitanātha is also known as Rohiṇī. It is interesting to find that the conch symbol and the cow vehicle are common to some of the forms of Rohiṇī, the yakṣiṇī, and Rohiṇī, the Vidyādevī.

In worship, two varieties of forms of the Mahā-Vidyā Rohiṇī are widespread : they are the four-armed and the multi-armed ones.

I. Four-Armed Variety. Bappabhaṭṭī sūri gives the earliest dhyāna of Rohiṇī, according to which the goddess is white in complexion, bears the arrow, the rosary, the bow and the conch in her hands, and rides a cow.³²

This early tradition has been followed by Śobhana muni³³ and the authors of Nirvāṇakalikā³⁴ and Ācāradinakara,³⁵ as well as the Mantrā-dhirāja-kalpa of Sāgaracandra.³⁶ According to the Nirvāṇakalikā, Rohiṇī is white in complexion, rides a cow and carries the rosary and the arrow in her two right hands while holding the conch and the bow in the two left ones.

Another variety of this form is found in the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniature which represents her riding a cow and holding the arrow and the bow in the right and the left upper hands. Her two lower hands show the 'varada' and the conch symbols. Golden in complexion, Rohiṇī wears a crown, a green bodice and a lower garment of red and green design. No dhyāna for this form is forthcoming.

A beautiful sculpture of Rohiṇī is found on the ceiling in the main 'maṇḍapa' of the famous Vimala vasahī shrine at Mt. Ābu. Rohiṇī is here represented as standing with the cow as her vehicle. Her right lower hand, held in the 'varada' pose, carries the rosary while the left lower shows the conch symbol. The remaining two symbols are unfortunately mutilated but the upper part of the broken arrow in her right upper hand is still visible. A similar figure is carved on a pillar in one of the Jaina temples at Kumbhāriā. In the Kharataravasahī sets, she shows the same set of symbols, but the arrow is mutilated in both figures.

The Digambara tradition, represented by the *Pratiṣṭhātilaka*³⁷ and the *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*,³⁸ give another set of symbols for this goddess, namely, the jar of nectar (kalaśa), the conch, the lotus and the fruit. Golden in complexion, Rohiṇī sits on the lotus. Vasunandī gives the same complexion and the vāhana for this goddess. He calls her four-armed but refers to the conch, the lotus and the fruit symbols only.

Śubhaçandra gives yet another form in his *Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā*³⁹ Here the vidyā shows the spear, the lotus, the 'varada mudrā' and the fruit in her four hands and sits in 'sukhāsana' on the lotus.

II. Six-Armed Variety. In the set of six-armed Mahā-vidyās in the *Vimala vasahī*, it is difficult to distinguish between Rohiṇī, the first Mahā-vidyā and Acchuptā, the fourteenth, since both these goddesses are said to carry the bow and the arrow while there is only one figure with these two symbols. Again, since vāhanas are omitted in this set and as no dhyānas are available from any text, the task becomes more difficult. Nor is there any parallel set available in sculptures or paintings.

III. Eight-Armed Variety. A metal image, now being worshipped in the Śāntinātha temple, Cambay, represents an eight-armed goddess seated in 'lalitāsana' on a cow with her right foot hanging. Over her head is a miniature figure of a Jina seated in the dhyāna mudrā, padmāsana. The goddess carries, in her left hands, the noose, an indistinct symbol, the bow, and the citron. Her right hands show the disc, the arrow and the 'varada mudrā'. The image is thus a rare specimen of the eight-armed Rohiṇī vidyā, in Śvetāmbara worship.

An eight-armed figure of a goddess on a pillar in the compound of the Digambara Jaina temple no. 12 at Deogarh fort, Jhansi district, U. P., also sits on the cow vehicle and carries the noose, the bow, the arrow and the citron in her left hands. In the right hands can be seen the disc, an indistinct symbol, the 'khaḍga' and the 'varada mudrā'. The cow vehicle is seen in front of her seat. The form is thus identical with the Cambay figure. But the Deogarh figure represents the yakṣiṇī Mālinī of the Digambara tradition, as can be inferred from another inscribed sculpture discovered from the same site.⁴⁰ One has therefore to be cautious in labelling a Jaina sculpture for often the title depends upon the sects to which it belongs. However, it seems that the yakṣi

Mālinī of the Digambaras is based upon the earlier Jaina vidyā-devī Rohiṇī whose antiquity cannot be questioned. The Cambay bronze is not inscribed but since it appears to be a product of the late mediaeval Gujarātī art and since it is being worshipped in a temple of the Śvetāmbara sect which has a very large following in Gujarāt, it is probable that the Cambay bronze was originally installed by the Śvetāmbaras as the Rohiṇī vidyā.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. A multi-armed form of the goddess is thus described by the Nirvāṇakalikā : "Om Hail ! Oblation to Rohiṇī, seated on the eastern petal (of the 'maṇḍala' or the magic circle), whose complexion is as white as the moon, and who holds the conch, the bow and such other weapons in her numerous hands".⁴¹

Worship of Rohiṇī seems to have been introduced in Jainism from very early times, as the Āvaśyaka cūrṇī includes her amongst the four Mahā-vidyās. Haribhadra also refers to a 'Rohiṇī-tapa',⁴² some kind of austerities to propitiate the goddess Rohiṇī. A vidyā-devī called 'Mahā-Rohiṇī' was also known to the author of the Vasudevahiṇḍī.⁴³ Possibly this was the multi-armed variety of Rohiṇī discussed above.

PRAJNĀPTI : THE SECOND MAHAVADYĀ

Prajñapti is so called because she has wide ('prakṛṣṭā') knowledge ('jñapti').⁴⁴ She is also invoked for removing miseries and destroying enemies.

The Digambara yakṣiṇī⁴⁵ of the Jina Sambhavanātha is also called Prajñapti. As a yakṣiṇī she holds a different set of symbols though the vāhana in both cases remains unchanged.

Prajñapti has three chief varieties of forms according as she has (1) two (2) four or (3) many arms.

I. Two-Armed Variety. The Ācāradinakara⁴⁶ describes her as shining like a lotus petal and as riding the peacock, with the śakti (dart) and the lotus held in her two hands.

Śobhana muni also calls her 'śakti-karā' (i. e. one who has the javelin in her hand).⁴⁷ Bappabhaṭṭī refers specially to her 'śakti' symbol but unfortunately remains silent about the number of her arms ; he, however mentions the peacock vehicle.⁴⁸ Thus the 'śakti' seems to be

her chief distinguishing symbol along with the peacock vāhana, in the Śvetāmbara tradition.

The Digambara text Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra⁴⁹ says that the goddess holds the 'khaḍga' (sword) and the disc in her hands. Dark-blue in complexion, she enjoys her ride on the horse vehicle. The Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā of Śubhacandra gives this form and calls her 'Dhiṣaṇikā' as well.⁵⁰

II. Four-Armed Variety. According to Nirvāṇakalikā,⁵¹ Prajñapti is white in complexion, rides a peacock and has four arms showing the 'varada' and the 'śakti' in her two right hands and the citron and the 'śakti' in the two left ones.

The Chāṇī miniature representing a slightly different variety, shows the goddess seated in 'bhadraśana', and holding the javelins in the two upper hands while the two lower ones display the 'varada' pose. Golden in complexion, the deity puts on a white garment of black design ; while the peacock vehicle is shown at the side.

According to Sāgaracandra,⁵² Prajñapti bears the trident, the staff, the 'abhaya' and the citron in her four hands. Red in complexion she is further called 'Sargāsanasthā'.

The Vimala vasahī, Mt. Ābu, contains two beautiful sculptures of Prajñapti. The first placed in the dome of the 'sabhā-maṇḍapa' represents her in a standing attitude and carrying the 'śakti' and the 'kukkuṭa' in her right and the left upper hands respectively ; the remaining hands are mutilated. The peacock is shown as her vāhana.

The second sculpture, from a group of four vidyādevīs in the ceiling opposite cell no. 39, represents her riding on a peacock and showing the 'varada' and the 'śakti' in the two right hands and the 'abhaya' and the 'kukkuṭa' in the two left ones. It seems that both the sculptures are of the same variety of form.

Another figure of the goddess is carved on the door-frame of cell no. 43, Vimalavasahī. Here the vidyā shows the citron instead of the 'abhaya' in the preceding figure.

The Kharataravasahī sets present a new variety for which no dhyānas are available. The devī carries the 'vajra' in the two upper hands and shows the 'varada' and the fruit in the right and the left lower ones.

A peacock is shown as the vāhana in the standing as well as sitting postures.

The Digambara text *Pratiṣṭhātilaka*,⁶³ however, supplies another form with the disc, the 'khaḍga' (sword), the conch and the 'varada' symbols.

Vasunandi,⁶⁴ giving a Digambara tradition merely refers to one symbol for most of the sixteen vidyādevīs. According to him Prajñapti is four-armed and dark in complexion and holds the 'khaḍga' in her hand. It will be evident that the 'khaḍga' is her chief distinguishing symbol in the Digambara tradition.

III. Six-Armed Variety. In the Vimala vasahī set of six-armed vidyās, a goddess carries the 'śakti' in her right uppermost hand, an indistinct symbol in the corresponding left, and shows the 'jñāna mudrā', with the middle pair of hands. Her right third hand shows the 'varada mudrā' while the 'abhaya' is shown by the corresponding left. She appears to be Prajñapti, the second Mahā-vidyā.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. According to the *Nirvāṇakalikā*⁶⁵ Prajñapti shines like a lotus and carries the 'śakti' and numerous such weapons in her many hands.

The worship of Prajñapti must have been wide-spread in ancient times as she has been referred as one of the four Mahā-vidyās by Jinadāsa. She is also known to the author of the *Paumacariyam*. Saṅghadāsa, the author of the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, describes how Pradyumna could make Jāmbavatī change her form with the help of the Prajñapti vidyā. Prajñapti is also invoked in the story of Kamalāmelā, given in the *Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya* and the *Āvaśyaka-ṭikā* of Haribhadra,⁶⁶ especially for change of form. The *Ādipurāṇa*⁶⁷ refers to the Mahā-Prajñapti-vidyā which, along with other vidyās, grants the worshipper his desired boons. The Mahā-Prajñapti of the *Ādipurāṇa* was possibly a multi-armed form of the Prajñapti vidyā.

Although no sādhanas of Prajñapti are available, certain inferences regarding the nature of this vidyā can be drawn from the texts referred to above. She seems to have been specially invoked for change of form. The title Prajñapti obviously denotes knowledge, as suggested by Hemacandra, and may be compared with the Buddhist terms Prajñā



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and Prājñāpāramitā. In ancient times this was the proper term for true knowledge and intelligence. The fifth Jaina Aṅga text is known as Vyākhyā-Prajñapti. Another ancient text is styled Prajñāpanā sūtra. It may be that originally Prajñapti vidyā was propitiated for obtaining supernatural cognition. In this capacity she invites comparison with Sarasvatī who is also associated with the peacock.

It will be remembered that according to the Paumacariyam Rāvaṇa propitiated 'Prajñapti' along with 'Kaumārī', 'Cāṇḍālī', 'Vārāhī', 'Kauberī', 'Aiśānī', 'Śaṅkarī', 'Jayā', 'Vijayā', and other vidyās. Obviously many of these are familiar ancient goddesses of the Brahmanical pantheon. Of these, Kaumārī, the well-known Mātṛkā and the female counterpart or energy of Kumāra (Skanda), is conceived parallel with Prajñapti. Kaumārī is four-armed and carries according to the Aṃśumadbhedāgama, the 'śakti' and the 'kukkuṭa' in two hands while showing the 'varada' and the 'abhaya' with the other two. The peacock is her vāhana.⁵⁰

VAJRASRŪKHALA : THE THIRD MAHA-VIDYA

The goddess is named after her distinguishing symbol 'vajra-śrūṅkhalā, or adamant chain, that is to say, a chain as strong as adamant.⁵¹

The yakṣiṇī of the Tīrthaṅkara Abhinandana is also called Vajraśrūṅkhalā in the Digambara tradition although she does not show the chain symbol.

This Vidyādevī usually sits on a lotus and the chain in her hand is the recognition symbol. She is worshipped in three principal varieties of form, namely, the two-armed, four-armed and the multi-armed.

I. Two-Armed Variety. The Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra⁵² (Digambara) as well as the Śobhana-stuti⁵³ (Śvetāmbara) seem to refer to a two-armed variety with the chain in one or both the hands. Bappabhaṭṭī sūri also follows the same tradition.⁵⁴ Golden in complexion according to both sects, she has the lotus-vāhana according to the Śvetāmbaras.

The Ācāradinakara gives the chain and the club as her symbols. According to it, the goddess is golden in complexion and sits on the lotus.⁵⁵

The Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā of Śubhacandra⁵⁶ gives quite a different tradition, according to which the deity holds the 'vajra' in her hands and

rides the elephant. Her hand is said to shine like gold which suggests that she was conceived as golden in complexion.

II. Four-Armed Variety. In this variety are found two principal sets of symbols. According to the *Nirvāṇakalikā*,⁶⁵ followed by the *Mantrādhirāja-kalpa*,⁶⁶ the goddess is as white as the conch, and sits on a lotus, showing the 'varada' and the chain in the two right hands and the lotus and the chain in the two left ones.

The Digambara tradition, represented by the *Pratiṣṭhātilaka*,⁶⁷ gives the chain, the conch, the lotus and the citron in her four hands

The Chāṇī miniature shows a third variety. The goddess sits on a lotus in the 'bhadraśana' and carries the chain in the upper pair of hands, while the lower pair show the 'varada' and the citron in the right and the left respectively. Golden in appearance, she wears a green bodice and a black lower garment with red lines.

In the Vimala vasahī are found two sculptures representing this goddess. The first, placed in a group of sixteen Mahā-vidyās, in the ceiling of the central maṇḍapa, represents her standing and holding the chain with two upper hands, while the two lower ones show the rosary and the mace ('gadā'). The lotus is her cognizance.

Another sculpture from 'bhāva' no. 28, shows her seated in 'lalitāśana' with the right foot hanging. Both the upper hands of the goddess carry the chain while the right lower hand shows the 'varada mudrā'. The symbol held in the left lower hand is mutilated beyond recognition. The lotus is her cognizance.

In the Kharataravasahī sets both the standing and the sitting figures of the goddess Vajraśṛṅkhālā have identical symbols, namely, the chain in the two upper hands, the 'varada mudrā' in the right lower and the fruit in the left lower. The lotus is her cognizance.

III. Six-Armed Variety. A six-armed form of the goddess is carved in one of the corridor-ceilings of the Vimala vasahī. The goddess here sits upon a stool in the 'lalita' pose and carries with the uppermost pair of hands, the two ends of the adamant chain running across the back of her head. The lowermost right hand shows the 'varada mudrā' while the corresponding left carries the mace. The central pair of hands is mutilated. Probably the two central hands

showed the 'jñāna mudrā'. This is inferred on the evidence of the sixteen Mahāvidyās arranged in a group in the ceiling in front of cell no. 41, of the same temple, where the goddess carries the chain in her two uppermost hands, shows indistinct mudrās with the central pair, the 'varada mudrā' with the third right hand and the 'abhaya' with the corresponding left.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā⁸⁸ gives a multi-armed form showing various symbols beginning with the iron-chain, etc. In this form the deity is golden in complexion, and presides over the southern quarter.

A curious figure of a sixteen-armed goddess sitting in the 'lalita' pose upon a stool is preserved in 'bhāva' no. 31, Vimāla vasahī. The goddess is attended upon by a standing female fly-whisk bearer on each side. Her two uppermost hands carry the chain running over the top of her crown while two left lower hands hold the mace and the 'kalaśa'. The rest of the symbols are mutilated. A vāhana with the face mutilated but looking like a horse is standing in front of her seat. Now, in the Śvetāmbara pantheon, Kandarpā, the yakṣiṇī of the fifteenth Jina has the horse vehicle and shows the lotus, the goad, the lotus and the 'abhaya' in her four hands. Caṇḍā or Pracāṇḍā, the twelfth yakṣiṇī, also has the horse vāhana and shows the club, the flower, the 'varada' and the 'śakti' in her four hands. The above figure has the club symbol but since the majority of symbols are mutilated, it is difficult to identify her as Caṇḍā or Kandarpā. But the chain symbol (held in the uppermost hands) is not carried by any other goddess of the Śvetāmbara pantheon and hence it is probable that the sculpture represents the Vajraśṛṅkhalā Mahā-vidyā of the Śvetāmbaras, the horse vehicle being an exception to the general rule.

The above account shows that the appellation referred to this goddess since she carried a chain as hard (and invincible) as the 'vajra' (or an adamant chain).

Vajraśṛṅkhalā is an emanation of Amoghasiddhi in Vajrayāna Buddhism,⁸⁹ and is named after the 'vajra-śṛṅkhalā' carried in one of her hands. Vajra has a special significance and means Śūnya in the Vajrayāna. Both Vajraśṛṅkhalā and Vajrāṅkuśī of the

Jainas seem to have been influenced by Buddhist goddesses of the same names.

VAJRANKUSI : THE FOURTH MAHAVIDYA

This deity, like the preceding one is named after her two chief distinguishing symbols, namely, the 'vajra' and the 'aṅkuṣa'.⁷⁰ The goddess generally rides the elephant.

She is represented in three chief forms: (1) Two-armed, (2) Four-armed and (3) Multi-armed.

I. Two-Armed Variety. Both Bappabhaṭṭi⁷¹ and Śobhana muni,⁷² representing an early tradition, describe her as holding the thunderbolt and the goad in her hands. Golden in complexion, the vidyādevī is said to ride a white elephant.

The Digambara tradition given by the Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā also prescribes the same form of the goddess, but she is said to be black in complexion.

The Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra⁷³ also describes a two-armed form but the vajra is here replaced by a 'viṇā'. Besides, the devī is said to ride a 'puṣpa-yāna.'

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Ācāradinakara⁷⁴ gives the sword, the 'vajra', the shield and the spear as the symbols in her four hands. The deity is golden in complexion and rides a rutting elephant. Being strong as the thunderbolt ('vajra') she is invoked for removing the obstacles of the whole world.

The Nirvāṇakalikā⁷⁵ says that the devī, golden in complexion, shows the 'varada mudrā' and the 'vajra' in the two right hands and the citron and the goad in the two left ones. The elephant is her vehicle.

Sāgaracandra, in his Mantrādhirājakalpa,⁷⁶ invokes her for removing miseries, and describes her as golden in appearance and holding the fruit, the rosary, the goad and the trident in her four hands. The goddess rides an elephant and is attended upon by numerous deities.

According to Pratiṣṭhātilaka,⁷⁷ representing the Digambara tradition, the deity Vajrāṅkuṣī holds the goad, the lotus and the citron in her hands. The fourth symbol, not specified in the text, should probably be the 'vajra'.

The Chāñī miniature represents her as holding the 'vajra' in the two upper hands while the lower ones show the 'varada' in the right and the citron in the left. She is golden in complexion and rides the elephant. She wears a red lower garment.

The ceiling of the raṅgamaṇḍapa, Vimāla vasahī, contains a standing sculpture of this goddess. The elephant is shown as her vāhana. She carries the goad in the right upper hand, the rosary in the right lower, the 'vajra' in the left upper and the citron in the left lower.

A sculpture in the corresponding ceiling of the Lūṇa vasahī temple, built by Tejahpāla at Ābu, contains another representation of Vajrāṅkuṣī standing with the elephant as her vāhana. The citron in the Vimāla vasahī figure is here replaced by the water-pot while the rest of the symbols remain unchanged.

A beautiful sculpture of Vajrāṅkuṣī sitting in the 'lalita' pose with the elephant as her vāhana is preserved in a ceiling of the Vimāla vasahī containing representations of Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkuṣī, Prajñapti and Cakreśvarī in one group. The goddess carries the goad and the 'vajra' in her right and the left upper hands respectively, the left lower hand holds the 'kalaśa' as in the Lūṇa vasahī figure, while the right lower one shows the 'varada mudrā'. A male attendant stands on each side of the goddess. The figure is a good example of the art of the period (1088 V. S.).

The above sculpture may be compared with a later figure from the same temple, carved on the door-frame of a smaller cell (no. 40) containing an inscription dated 1373 V. S. (1321 A. D.). The goddess here shows the rosary and the pot in the right and the left lower hands respectively while the rest of the symbols as also the vāhana remain unchanged.

In the Kharataravasahī, Ābu, are two more figures of this goddess, one in the standing and the other in the sitting posture. Both represent the same form and hold the goad and the 'vajra' in the right and the left upper hands while showing the 'varada' and the citron in the corresponding lower ones. The elephant is the vāhana.

A peculiar four-armed figure is carved on a pillar in the Lūṇa vasahī,

Dilawārā, Ābu. Here a goddess stands in the tribhaṅga with the elephant vehicle by her side and carries the goad and the chain in the right and the left upper hands respectively. Her right lower hand shows the 'varada mudrā' while the left lower is mutilated. Obviously, the chain in the left upper hand is due to the preceding Mahā-vidyā Vajraśṛṅkhalā and instead of a simple 'vajra', the artist erroneously carved a 'vajraśṛṅkhalā'. The figure should be recognised as representing the fourth Mahā-vidyā Vajrāṅkuśī.

III. Six-Armed Variety. In the ceiling in front of cell no. 41, Vimala vasahī, amongst the group of sixteen six-armed Mahā-vidyās, is a figure of Vajrāṅkuśī carrying the 'vajra' in the uppermost right hand and the goad in the corresponding left. The right lowermost shows the 'varada' while the corresponding left shows the 'abhaya mudrā'. The central pair of hands shows the 'jñāna mudrā'.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā⁷⁸ referring to this form, says that the deity holds the 'vajra', the goad, the spear and such other weapons in her many hands. Golden in complexion and fierce in appearance, the goddess is called 'Mahā-Vajrāṅkuśī' when represented in this form.

Vajrāṅkuśī accompanies Vajratārā in Buddhism. She is also the gate-keeper of the Lokanātha-maṇḍala. The deity is said to carry the 'Vajrāṅkuśa (goad surmounted by Vajra) and the 'utpala' in her hands.⁷⁹

In Buddhist iconography, Vajrāṅkuśa originally signified Aṅkuśa surmounted by Vajra. Such a representation is not found amongst the figures of the Jaina Vajrāṅkuśī discovered hitherto.

But the symbols of Vajrāṅkuśī remarkably agree with those of 'Rambhā', a form of Gaurī of the Brahmanical texts, who, according to Rūpamaṇḍana carries the 'kamaṇḍalu', the rosary, the 'vajra' and the goad. The elephant is her vāhana. The Brahmanical Mātṛkā 'Aindrī', the female energy of Indra also carries the same symbols and rides the elephant, according to the Devīpurāṇa.⁸⁰

APRATICAKRA (SVE) OR JAMBUNADA (DIG) : THE FIFTH MAHAVIDYA

The fifth Vidyādevī is known as 'Apraticakrā', 'Cakreśvari' or 'Cakradharā' in Śvetāmbara tradition. In the Digambara tradition,

however, the fifth place is occupied by a goddess called 'Jāmbunadā' holding an altogether different set of symbols.

A. APRATICAKRA

The Śvetāmbara designation of the fifth Vidyādevī is derived from her chief distinguishing symbol, the 'cakra'.⁸⁰ Her name reminds us of the yaksini of Rśabhanātha, who is also called Cakreśvarī and who shows the disc and the eagle vehicle in the same way as this Vidyādevī.

Cakreśvarī vidyā is known to have two principal varieties of form : (1) the four-armed and (2) the multi-armed. Of the two-armed form no definite evidence is forthcoming, but its existence in earlier traditions seems highly probable, and the not altogether full descriptions in the Ācāradīnakara,⁸¹ the Śobhanastuti⁸² or the Caturviṃśatikā of Bappabhaṭṭi⁸³ sūri seem to refer to a two-armed variety only. The goddess is said to be golden in complexion, holding discs in her hands and riding the eagle.

I. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvānakalikā⁸⁴ specifically says that she holds discs in all the four hands. But here her colour is said to be white like lightening.

The Mantrādhirājakalpa⁸⁵ calls her 'Cakreśvarī' and gives the same symbols but adds that her body shows variegated colours ('vicitravarṇā'). Besides, the usual eagle vehicle is here replaced by a man. Her body is adorned with numerous ornaments.

The Chāṇī miniature representing this last named tradition shows her seated on a cushion, and as four-armed, carrying discs in all hands. She is, however, represented yellow in complexion, and wearing a bodice of green colour and a white garment with black designs.

The Vimāla vasahī contains a standing image of the goddess along with the other vidyādevīs in the ceiling of the raṅgamandapa. Apraticakrā here stands in the 'tribhaṅga' and is four-armed. The two upper hands show the disc while the left lower carries the citron. The right lower hand is mutilated. Near her right foot is her vāhana, the eagle.

Another figure from a ceiling in the same temple represents her seated in 'lalitāsana' on an eagle, and holding the same symbols. Her right

lower hand here exhibits the 'varada mudrā'. The ceiling contains, besides this figure, representations of Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajraśṛṅghalā and Prajñāpti, seated in each corner and having a small open lotus in its centre. The 'varada' symbol of Apraticakrā in this figure suggests that the mutilated hand of the standing Apraticakrā in the raṅgamaṇḍapa ceiling of this temple also showed the 'varada mudrā'. It may be noted that the eagle is represented like a human being. A similar figure of the goddess is carved once more in the same temple, in the ceiling in front of cell no. 24. A bronze figure of this Mahāvidyā seated upon a stool with a miniature figure of her vehicle on the left lower corner is preserved in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xaviers' College, Bombay. The figure can be assigned to c. the fifteenth century A. D. on stylistic grounds. Here the goddess carries the disc in her two upper hands and shows the rosary and the citron in the right and the left lower hands respectively. The bronze appears to be a product of Gujarātī art and probably belongs to the Śvetāmbara sect. In the absence of a Tīrthaṅkara figure overhead, the figure may be recognised as the Apraticakrā Mahā-vidyā, and the fact that the 'varada mudrā' of the Vimala vasahī figures is here replaced by the rosary need not hamper us for, such variations are often met with in figures of other Jaina deities.

In the Lūna vasahī, Ābu, four goddesses are carved in one ceiling and arranged on the four hands of a double cross: the central portion of this cross is occupied by a small lotus design while the four corners of the ceiling (or the four sections formed by this cross) are occupied by bigger lotus designs. These four goddesses offer a difficult problem as all these admit of a double identification, one as a vidyādevī and the other as a yakṣiṇī. Two of them are four-armed and can be identified as Apraticakrā vidyā or Cakreśvari yakṣī and the other as Mānavī vidyā or Dhāriṇī yakṣī. The two other goddesses are six-armed each, one may be Mānasī vidyā or Balā yakṣī while the other may be Gaurī vidyā or the Kandarapā yakṣī.

One figure from this group represents a goddess sitting in the 'lalita' pose on a stool in front of which is the eagle vehicle represented as a

human being. The right lower hand of the goddess, held as in the 'abhaya mudrā', carries a rosary while the left lower holds the citron. In the Bombay bronze discussed above, the same symbols are shown with the difference that the right lower hand, carrying the rosary is held as in the 'varada mudrā'. The palm-leaf manuscript of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-caritra* preserved in the Saṅghavī pāḍā Bhāṇḍāra, Pāṭan, assignable to c. 1350 A. D., contains a miniature of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī showing the two discs, the 'varada mudra', and the citron in her four hands. But similarity of titles of the yakṣī and the vidyādevī Cakreśvarī has resulted in an interchange of symbols of the two deities and the symbols in an earlier figure of this vidyādevī are found in a later figure of the yakṣiṇī and 'vice versa'¹⁰⁰. Hence it would be better to regard this earlier form as that of the vidyādevī Apraticakrā. In the age of the Lūṇa vasahī although the different sets of yakṣiṇīs were already evolved, the earlier practice of carving a two-armed Kubera-like yakṣa and the two-armed Ambikā as attendants of almost all the Tīrthaṅkaras was more popular, and it seems that the Cakreśvarī yakṣiṇī carried the conch instead of the citron held by the vidyādevī. It would therefore be advisable to regard all these four figures of the Lūṇa vasahī as representing the vidyādevīs until further evidence to the contrary is brought to light.

The Kharataravasahī in the same group of temples, built in c. the fifteenth century A. D., has two representations of this Mahā-vidyā; the first is in a standing posture and shows discs in the two upper hands and the 'varada' and the conch in the right and the left lower hands respectively. The second in a sitting posture, carries the 'cakra' and the 'gadā' in the right and the left upper hands respectively and shows the rosary and the conch in the corresponding lower ones. These forms occur in earlier representations of the 'yakṣī' Cakreśvarī at Prabhāsa Pāṭan (Saurāṣṭra) and elsewhere but here they should be regarded as representing the Apraticakrā vidyā inasmuch as they are given amongst the sets of vidyādevīs.

Another sculpture of Cakreśvarī from one of the corridor ceilings of the Vimāla vasahī, in front of cell no. 24 is a later addition as is obvious from the style of the carving. The goddess here shows the conch instead of the fruit held by other figures of the Apraticakrā vidyā

in the Vimala vasahī. It is difficult to say whether this figure represented a vidyādevī or a yakṣiṇī although on the evidence of the Kharataravasahī one would be tempted to take her as a vidyādevī. This shows how difficult it is to identify Jaina sculptures especially when they are without inscriptions or found separated from context or group.

A standing figure of a four-armed Cakreśvarī preserved in a niche in a temple in Pāṭana, North Gujarāt, is interesting. The goddess stands in the 'tribhaṅga' and carries the 'cakra' in each of her four hands. A miniature figure of a Jina is placed on the top of the sculpture. The vāhana is missing. The symbols held by this figure agree with the dhyānas of the Cakreśvarī vidyā known from Śvetāmbata works. But the miniature figure of the Jina over the head of the goddess would suggest that the figure was intended to be worshipped as the yakṣī Cakreśvarī. Being a later figure, belonging to an age when mutual borrowings of the forms of Cakreśvarī yakṣī and Cakreśvarī vidvā, mostly due to oversight or ignorance, had already set in it is difficult to give a correct label to this figure. But the form certainly represents the vidyādevī, whatever the intention of the sculptor might have been.

II. Six-Armed Variety. The ceiling in front of cell no. 41, referred to above, also contains a representation of the Mahā-vidyā Apraticakrā. The devī here shows the discs in the uppermost pair of hands and the 'pravacana (jñāna or vyākhyāna) mudrā' in the middle pair. Her third right hand is held in the 'varada' pose while the corresponding left carries the conch. It must be remembered that this group of vidyādevīs does not represent the same tradition or belong to the same age as the main group of four-armed standing vidyās in the sabhāmaṇḍapa-dome of the Vimala vasahī.

Another six-armed figure of the vidyādevī is represented in the famous Caturmukha shrine at Rāṇakpur, Jodhpur state. Here the goddess sits in the 'lalita' pose upon a stool and carries the disc in each hand. A miniature figure of the eagle vehicle is seen below her left leg. Although no dhyāna for this form is available, the evidence of four-armed Apraticakrāvidyā (with discs in all hands), given by the Nirvāṇakalikā and other texts, makes it quite easy to recognise her as the Mahā-vidyā Apraticakrā or Cakreśvarī.

III. Multi-Armed Variety. The *Nirvāṇakalikā*⁹⁷ describes a multi-armed form, shining like gold and holding discs of dazzling brilliance, a bolt and such other weapons (not specified in the text) in her many hands.

A palm-leaf manuscript of the *Rṣabhadeva-caritra* of Varddhamaṇa ācārya, copied in Saṃvat 1189 (A. D. 1131-33) in Prahlādanapura (modern Pālanapur), is now preserved in the Saṃgha-Bhāṇḍāra, Patan. It contains a well-preserved miniature of an eighteen-armed goddess⁹⁸ sitting upon a full-blown lotus with a small figure of the eagle vehicle painted on her right. She shows in her right hands, beginning from the topmost hand, the 'cakra', the arrow, the goad, the lotus, the sword, the 'vajra', an indistinct symbol ('śakti' ?), the 'varada' and 'pravacana mudrās'. In a corresponding order are shown in her left hands, the 'cakra', the bow, the noose, the pestle, the shield, the conch, the axe, the trident and the 'abhaya mudrā'. Obviously she represents a multi-armed Cakreśvarī. Being a book-illustration of the life of Rṣabhanātha whose attendant yakṣī is called Cakreśvarī, one would expect to find a miniature of the 'yakṣī' Cakreśvarī. But no dhyāna of the said 'yakṣī' is known whereas the figure agrees with the dhyāna of the multi-armed 'vidyādevī' Apraticakrā given by the *Nirvāṇakalikā*. It seems that both the yakṣī and the vidyādevī Cakreśvarī were at this stage regarded as one and the same deity. It is also possible that the Cakreśvarī vidyā was represented here with full knowledge of her forms, for the evidence of the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniatures discussed here shows that such departures were not unusual.

The iconographic peculiarities of the Cakreśvarī vidyā discussed above, especially of her four-armed forms, may be compared with those of the Brāhmanical goddess Vaiṣṇavī who also holds the 'cakra' and rides the eagle. In fact one can easily make mistakes by labelling the one for the other as has already been done by Professor Vogel when he identified the Mathurā museum image⁹⁹ of Cakreśvarī as Vaiṣṇavī.

B. JAMBUNADA

The Digambara traditions give two forms for the fifth Vidyādevī and calls her Jāmbunadā. She is either (1) two-armed or (2) four-

armed, and usually rides the peacock. The goddess is called Jāmbunadā probably because she looks like 'jāmbunada' or gold.

I. Two-Armed Variety. According to Āśādhara⁹⁰ Jāmbunadā holds the sword and the spear in her hands and rides the peacock. Śubhacandra also gives the same symbols in his Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā. She is golden in complexion.

II. Four-Armed Variety. According to Nemicandra, the author of Pratiṣṭhātilaka,⁹¹ the goddess holds the 'khaḍga', the spear, the lotus and the citron in her four hands. Vasunandi also refers to a four armed form, but instead of mentioning all the four weapons, gives only one, namely, the sword. According to this authority, the devī is golden in complexion. Although not specified, the peacock may be taken as her vāhana in all varieties of forms.

NARADATTA OR PURUSADATTA : THE SIXTH MAHAVIDYA

Both the Jaina sects address the sixth Vidyādevī as Puruṣadattā or Naradattā, but show different symbols in her hands. It may however be noted that the yakṣiṇī of Sumatinātha bears the same name in the Digambara pantheon. The yakṣiṇī of Munisuvrata in the Śvetāmbara tradition is also known as Naradattā. In both cases the symbols differ from those held by the Vidyādevī Naradattā. Hemacandra's explanation of her name is not convincing.⁹²

Puruṣadattā is described as two-armed, four-armed and multi-armed according to the Jain texts.

I. Two-Armed Variety. Śobhana muni⁹³ describes her as holding the sword and the shield. Her fierce laughter and the dazzling beauty of form are also emphasized. Ācāradinakara⁹⁴ following this tradition adds that the goddess is white in complexion and rides a buffalo which is as black as the cloud. The author calls her 'Puruṣāgradattā'. Bappabhaṭṭī sūri⁹⁵ differs in assigning to her a golden complexion.

In the Digambara tradition represented by Āśādhara⁹⁶, Puruṣadattā is white, holds the 'vajra' and the lotus and rides a ruddy goose (cakravāka). Śubhacandra agrees with Āśādhara.

II. Four-Armed Variety. According to the Nirvāṇakalikā,⁹⁷ Puruṣadattā is golden in appearance, rides a she-buffalo and shows the

'varada' and the sword in the two right hands and the citron and the shield in the two left ones.

According to the Mantrādhirājakalpa,⁹⁸ Naradattā sits on a red lotus and shows in her four hands the sword, the shield, the citron and the 'abhaya mudrā'. She shines like gold.

In the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniature, Puruṣadattā is golden in complexion, and holds the sword and the shield in the right and the left upper hands respectively. The second right hand shows the 'varada mudrā' while the left lower carries the citron. The goddess wears a red garment and rides a buffalo. The form agrees with the description as found in the Nirvāṇakalikā.

The Digambara text Pratīṣṭhātilaka⁹⁹ mentions the 'vajra', the lotus, the conch, and the fruit as the symbols held by the goddess in her four hands.

A standing figure of the goddess is found amongst the group of vidyādevīs in the sabhāmaṇḍapa of the Vimala vasahī. The devī stands in the 'tribhaṅga' pose and carries the lotus in each of the two upper hands, and the rosary and the pot in the right and the left lower ones respectively. The buffalo vehicle helps us to identify her as Puruṣadattā from the whole group of sixteen vidyādevīs. It has not been possible, however, to discover the dhyāna for a form with these symbols. A similar form is also shown in the Luṇavasahī set. The identifications are tentative.

Nor is it possible to obtain a dhyāna for the form of Puruṣadattā represented in the standing and the sitting attitude in the two sets of the Kharataravasahī, Ābu. Here the goddess shows the 'vajra' in the right upper hand, the noose in the left upper, the 'varada' in the right lower and the citron in the left lower. The vāhana is indistinct and looks like a buffalo. Since the vidyādevīs in these sets are arranged in the usual order given in all lists, the figures unmistakably represent the Mahā-vidyā Puruṣadattā.

III. Six-Armed Variety. All the goddesses in the group represented in front of the cell no. 41, Vimala vasahī, referred to above, cannot be identified since they are neither arranged in the order of the lists available in Śvetāmbara texts nor are the vāhanas represented with any of them.

Again, a comparison with the bigger set in the sabhāmaṇḍapa of this temple shows that this group represents a later and different tradition. However, the existence of a six-armed variety is attested by this group, and if a comparison with the four armed image discussed above is made the goddess carrying the lotuses in the uppermost pair of hands and showing the 'jñāna mudrā' with the middle pair, the 'varada' with the right lowermost hand and the citron with the corresponding left, may be identified as a six-armed form of Naradattā Mahā-vidyā.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. According to the description in the Nirvāṇakalikā,¹⁰⁰ the goddess is golden in complexion, wears a white garment and holds numerous missiles in her many arms. The dhyāna shows that the goddess was conceived to be more powerful with numerous hands and weapons.

A sixteen-armed figure of a goddess with the buffalo as her vāhana is represented in a ceiling in the corridor of the Vimala vasahī. The goddess sits in the 'lalita' pose on a raised seat and is attended upon by a standing female fly-whisk-bearer on each side. On three sides of this big panel are some miniature figures including the eight 'mātṛkās', Gaṇeśa and Bhairava. Some of the hands of the goddess are mutilated but the noose, the sword, the citron and the rosary can be recognised in her right hands while the pestle, the shield, the mace and the pot of nectar are still visible in the left ones.

It is difficult to identify such multi-armed figures of the Jaina pantheons when symbols of some of the hands are mutilated and when the literary texts do not mention the number of arms or all the symbols shown by the deity. The buffalo vehicle of Puruṣadattā is our chief guide in this case. Again, the sword and the shield symbols held by this figure are the chief recognising symbols of Puruṣadattā. Bappabhaṭṭī who supplies the oldest set of dhyānas for these vidyādevīs refers to these symbols held by Puruṣadattā.

Puruṣadattā, it may be remembered, is difficult to identify in the main set of four-armed vidyās in the Vimala vasahī. The goddess with the buffalo vāhana does not carry the sword and the shield. But in this case at least we can safely recognise a sixteen-armed form of Puruṣadattā.

It seems that this form of the goddess was known as Mahā-

puruṣadattā. The Āvaśyaka-Niryukti says that a Vidyā-siddha is one who has mastery over all the vidyās. But one who has propitiated even one Mahā-vidyā is called Vidyā-siddha, as was Ārya Khapuṭācārya Haribhadra sūri, commenting on this verse, says that Mahā-vidyās like 'Mahā-puruṣadattā' are meant.¹⁰¹ Thus Mahā-Puruṣadattā was one of the most ancient and powerful of the Tāntric deities.

Mahā-Puruṣadattā offers comparison with the Brāhmanical goddess Durgā who is also associated with the buffalo and who carries numerous weapons like the sword, the shield, etc. Of the nine Durgās described by the Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa, from an earlier text, Skandayāmala, eight, namely, 'Rudra-caṇḍā', 'Pracaṇḍā', 'Caṇḍogrā', 'Caṇḍa-nayikā', 'Caṇḍā', 'Caṇḍavatī', 'Ati-caṇḍikā' and 'Ugra-caṇḍikā', each one has sixteen arms.¹⁰² Durgā and Kātyāyanī are two of the most ancient Indian goddesses and are referred to in the Jaina text Anuyoga-dvāra-sūtra¹⁰³ and its cūrṇi.

KALĪ : THE SEVENTH MAHAVIDYĀ

The seventh Vidyādevī is called Kālī according to both the sects. Hemacandra explaining the epithet says that she is so called because of her dark complexion.¹⁰⁴

The yakṣī of Abhinandana amongst the Śvetāmbaras and the yakṣī of Supārśvanārha amongst the Digambaras are both called Kālī, but they hold a different set of symbols. It may be noted, however, that the vāhana of the Śvetāmbara yakṣī (Kālī) and the Vidyādevī Kālī remain the same. But while the Śvetāmbara vidyādevī Kālī holds the club, the yakṣī Kālī does not show it, and thus they are distinguished.

Kālī is represented chiefly as follows : (i) two-armed, (ii) four-armed and (iii) multi-armed.

I. *Two-Armed Variety.* Bappabhaṭṭi sūri¹⁰⁵ describes her as sitting on a lotus and holding the club and the rosary. She is said to be as dark as collyrium. Śobhana muni also emphasising her excessive or deep dark colour, gives the same symbols.¹⁰⁶

According to the Ācāradinakara¹⁰⁷ the goddess shines like the sky which is free from autumnal clouds, and rests on a full blown lotus. The description suggests her colour as sky-blue.

According to the Digambara text *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*¹⁰⁸ the Vidyādevī is golden in complexion and holds the pestle and the sword. The deer is her vāhana. Śubhacandra also agrees, though he refers only to the sword symbol. She is said to protect the world and remove all obstacles.

II. Four-Armed Variety. The *Nirvāṇakalikā*¹⁰⁹ says that Kālī is black in colour. She rests on a lotus and shows the rosary and the mace in her two right hands, and the 'vajra' and the 'abhaya' in the two left ones.

The *Mantrādhirājaka*¹¹⁰ describes her as showing the trident, the rosary, the 'varada mudrā' and the club. The colour and the vāhana of the goddess remain unchanged.

According to the Digambara tradition as embodied in the *Pratiṣṭhā-tīlaka*¹¹¹ Kālī carries the pestle, the sword, the lotus and the fruit.

The Chāñī miniature represents her as holding the dart ('śakti') and the trident in the right and the left upper hands, while the lower ones show the 'varada' and the 'abhaya' respectively. Golden in appearance, she sits on a lotus and wears garments of sky-blue colour.

The Vimala vasahī group of vidyādevīs also contains a figure of this goddess. Kālī is here standing in the "tribhaṅga" with the lotus and the book held in the right and the left upper hands respectively. The right lower hand held the 'gadā' (mace) while the corresponding left is mutilated. A female attendant stands on each side of the goddess while the lotus, as her cognizance, is shown towards her left. No dhyāna supporting the book symbol is available, but the recognition symbol of the mace and the lotus cognizance leave no doubts regarding her identification, in so far as the Śvetāmbara sect is concerned.

A figure of the goddess is also carved in the ceiling of the main maṇḍapa of the Lūṇa vasahī, Ābu. Here she carries the lotus and the book in the right and the left upper hands respectively and holds the mace and the pot with the corresponding lower ones. The lotus, symbolising her seat, is shown beside her left leg.

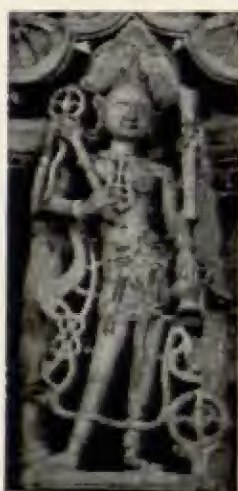
A very crude figure in the same ceiling also seems to represent the Kālī vidyā. Here the pot in the left lower hand is replaced by the 'abhaya mudrā' while other symbols remain unchanged.



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Both the standing and the sitting figures of the Kālī vidyā show a different set of symbols in the Kharataravasahī. Here the vidyā carries the 'vajra' in each of the two upper hands and the mace in the left lower. She shows the 'varada mudrā' with the right lower hand and has the lotus as her cognizance.

III. Multi-Armed Variety. In her multi-armed form, Kālī is black like collyrium, and holds, according to the Nirvānakalikā,¹¹² the club, and such other weapons in her hands.

The name of this yakṣī reminds one of the goddess Kālī of the Brāhmanical pantheon. She is the first in the list of the ten Hindu Mahā-vidyās. Terrific in appearance, she stands on a corpse and shows symbols different from those held by the Jain vidyā of the same name.¹¹³ Kālī is included in the Jain lists of sixty-four yoginīs given by the Ācāradinakara and the Vidhiprapā.¹¹⁴ The Digambara text Jvālīnī-kalpa ascribed to Īndraṇḍī includes Kālī amongst female 'grahas'. 'Rsimandala-yāntas' of both the sects invoke a goddess Kālī in a group of twenty-four Mahā-devīs including Śrī, Hṛī, Dhṛtī, Gaurī, Candī, Sarasvatī, Javā, Ambā, Vijayā, Klinnā, Nityā, and others.¹¹⁵ Haribhadra sūri refers to a penance in honour of a goddess Kālī.¹¹⁶

MAHAKALĪ: THE EIGHTH MAHAVIDYĀ

Both the sects agree in addressing the eighth Vidvādevī as Mahākālī. She is not to be confounded with the Śvetāmbara yakṣiṇī of Sumatinātha and the Digambara yakṣiṇī of Suvidhinātha. Although all the three have the same name, they are nevertheless different deities since they have different sets of symbols.

It may be noted that in the Śvetāmbara pantheon, Mahākālī¹¹⁷ always has a man as her vāhana and that the bell seems to be her chief recognition symbol.

Mahākālī is represented in two principal varieties of forms: (1) four-armed variety and (2) multi-armed variety.

I. Four-Armed Variety. Bappabhaṭṭī sūri¹¹⁸ describes her as black in complexion and as holding the 'vajra', the fruit, the bell and the rosary in her four hands. The Devī has the man-vehicle. Both Śobhana muni¹¹⁹

and Varddhamāna sūri¹¹⁰ describe this very form. But she is white according to the latter authority.

The Nirvāṇakalikā¹²⁰ says that Mahākālī is black like the 'tamāla'-tree and holds the rosary, and the 'vajra' in her two right hands. In the two left ones she shows the 'abhaya' and the bell. The vāhana remains unchanged.

Sāgaracandra, in his Mantrādhirājakaḷpa,¹²¹ gives the lotus (?), the rosary, the 'varada' and the bell in her four hands. The vāhana remains the same.

In the Digambara tradition, represented by Āśādhara,¹²² she is black in colour and holds the bow, the 'khaḍga', the fruit and the arrow. She is said to ride the 'śarabha' (fabulous animal).

In the Prathīṣṭhātilaka¹²³ also she is said to carry the same set of symbols, but her vāhana is not specified.

Śubhacandra says that the goddess rides the 'aṣṭāpada' (eight-footed animal). Black in complexion, she holds the sword and the bow in her hands. The text of Śubhacandra's Sārasvata-yantra-pujā¹²⁴ is corrupt, and it is difficult to know whether the author refers to a two-armed variety or a four-armed one.

The Chāṇī miniature represents her as black in complexion and as holding the 'vajra' and the bell in the right and the left upper hands. The right lower exhibits the 'varada mudrā' while the left lower carries the citron. She wears a red garment and has the man as her vāhana. The Vimāla vaśahī group of four-armed vidyās shows only one goddess carrying the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' who has to be recognised as Manasī on account of her swan vehicle. Another goddess with the ram vehicle carries the 'vajra' in each of the two upper hands and the rosary and the fruit in the right and the left lower ones. It is just possible that the artist placed through oversight the 'vajra' instead of the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' in one of the two upper hands. Again the ram vāhana presents a difficulty.

This figure can also be recognised as Gāndhārī, the tenth Mahāvidyā, since she carries the 'vajra'. But the vāhana presents the same difficulty.

Several figures of this goddess are in the group of temples at Kumbhāriā, Dāntā state. One of them, from a pillar in the Mahāvīra

temple, shows the 'vajra' and the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā', in the right and the left upper hands respectively and the 'varada mudrā' and the citron (?) in the corresponding lower ones. A human figure lying in the left corner is noteworthy.

Another image of Mahākālī is found at Pāṭan. The goddess sits in 'lalitāsana' on a human figure lying under her left foot and carries the rosary and the bell in her two upper hands and shows the 'varada mudrā' and the citron in the two lower ones.

In the Kharataravasahī, Ābu, are two representations of the goddess Mahākālī, one in a standing and the other in a sitting posture. Both exemplify the same tradition and carry the 'vajra' and the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' (bell surmounted by a vajra) in the right and the left upper hands respectively and show the 'varada' and the 'abhaya mudrās' with the corresponding lower hands. A male figure is shown as the vāhana in each case.

II. Six-Armed Variety. That a six-armed variety for each of the Mahā-vidyās existed is obvious from the set of sixteen goddesses in the ceiling in front of cell no. 41, of which some can be definitely identified as vidyādevīs. Mahā-Kālī, however, is difficult to recognise in this set. On the analogy of the Chāṇī miniature and the Kharataravasahī figure discussed above, a goddess in this set has claims for being identified as Mahā-kālī. This figure shows the 'vajra' and the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' in the two uppermost hands, the 'jñāna mudrā' in the middle ones, and the 'varada' and the citron in the last pair of hands. But she can as well be identified as Mānasī vidyā on the analogy of a figure discussed below.

III. Multi-Armed Variety. According to the Nirvāṇakalikā,¹²⁹ Mahākālī holds the 'vajra' and such other weapons in her numerous hands. Her body shines like the Atasi-flower.

This form of Mahākālī may be compared with the Kālī of the Brāhmanical pantheon.¹³⁰ Both are black in colour. The figure of Śiva lying prostrate under the feet of the Hindu Kālī seems to have been transformed into the vāhana of the Jaina Mahākālī. The Pāṭan image of the Jaina Mahākālī vidyā, discussed above, actually represents her human vāhana lying prostrate below her left leg.

Both the sects agree in naming the ninth Vidyādevī as Gaurī. A different Gaurī attends upon the Tīrthaṅkara Śreyāṃsanātha in the Digambara pantheon. Gaurī is so called because she is white ('gaura') in complexion according to the explanation offered by Hemacandra.¹²⁷

Gaurī is described in three forms : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed and (3) multi-armed. Her chief recognition symbol is the lotus and she moves on the alligator (godhā). It is not difficult to recognise her if these two are present.

I. Two-Armed Variety. Jaina texts do not specifically mention her as two-armed. But the verses addressed to her by Śobhana, Bappabhaṭṭi¹²⁸ and others suggest a two-armed form. (Earlier authorities like Bappabhaṭṭi usually invoke two-armed forms of all Vidyadevīs in their works.) Besides, both Śobhana¹²⁹ and Bappabhaṭṭi refer to her lotus symbol alone. The devī may have held the lotus in both her hands. Gaurī is further described as golden in complexion, and as riding on the alligator. It is noteworthy that Bappabhaṭṭi calls her 'hasti-kāyā', or of a size as immense as that of an elephant. The Ācāradinakara¹³⁰ gives a similar description but calls her white in complexion.

Digambara texts like Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, the Pratiṣṭhātilaka¹³¹ and the Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā also refer only to the lotus symbol, and give the same vāhana. She is called golden in complexion.

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā¹³² says that Gaurī shines like gold, rides on a 'godhā', and shows the 'varada mudrā' and the pestle in her two right hands, and the rosary and the lotus in the two left ones.

According to the Mantrādhirājakalpa,¹³³ she rides a bull. Shining like heated gold, Gaurī shows the lotus, the rosary, the 'varada mudrā' and the staff in her four hands.

In the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniature Gaurī is shown as golden in complexion, and as sitting on the 'godhā' represented here as a lizard. She wears a red garment. She holds the pestle and the lotus in the right and the left upper hands, while the lower pair of hands show the 'varada mudrā'.

The Vimala vasahī set contains a different form of the goddess.

Here a goddess is represented as standing and four-armed with lotuses in the upper pair of hands, and the 'rosary' and the 'kalāśa' in the right and the left lower hands respectively. The figure of a buffalo is represented as the vāhana. The buffalo is not known as the vāhana of Gaurī in Śvetāmbara texts, but the Mantrādhirāja-kalpa gives the bull vehicle instead of the crocodile. In our figure the vāhana looks more like a buffalo than like a bull. But the lotuses and the rosary are familiar symbols of Gaurī.

The buffalo is the vāhana of Puruṣadattā who holds the sword and the shield in two hands, according to the texts. In this set there is no goddess carrying the sword and the shield who can be recognised as Naradattā or Puruṣadattā. Hence the image discussed above can also be taken as Puruṣadattā with a new set of symbols.

There is another figure in this set with an ass-like creature as her vāhana who shows the rosary and the fruit in her two lower hands. The symbols of the two upper hands cannot be properly identified but on comparison with the lotuses in the hands of an image discussed below, they might be taken as lotuses. In that case the figure can be identified as Gaurī with the ass vehicle instead of the usual 'godhā'. Gaurī is the female energy of Śiva in the Brāhmanical pantheon and Kālarātri, one of the forms of Durgā, is known to ride the ass.¹³³ It may be remembered that there is no goddess with the 'godhā' vāhana in this set.

The Tejaḥpāla-temple has a beautiful figure of a female deity on one side of the steps leading to the smaller 'maṇḍapa' adjoining the central shrine. The devī is standing in 'tribhaṅga' with a 'makara' as her vāhana. In her two upper hands are seen the noose and the lily while the right lower hand carries the rosary. The fourth symbol, partly mutilated, cannot be identified. The lily, the 'makara' (alligator) and the rosary show that this figure represents a different form of Gaurī vidyā.

Kandarpā or Pannagā, the yakṣiṇī of Dharmanātha, is said to have the big fish or the alligator as her vāhana. But she usually carries two lotuses and the goad in her hands.

Vasunandi, the Digambara writer refers to a four-armed form of this vidyā who is said to be golden in complexion and holding the lotus.

III. Six-Armed Variety. In the Kharataravasahī, only the standing figure of Gaurī is carved while the sitting posture is missing. The goddess is here represented as six-armed with the lotus in the first two right hands (beginning from the top), and the bag (?) and the pot in the second and the third left hands. The third right and the first left hands show the 'varada' and the 'abhaya' respectively.

In the Vimala vasahī set of six-armed vidyās, there is a goddess carrying lotuses in the first pair of hands and showing the 'jñāna mudrā' in the middle pair. The right and the left lowest hands show the 'varada' and the citron. The figure possibly represents Gaurī.

An interesting six-armed figure of a goddess is preserved in the group of four devīs carved in one of the corridor ceilings of the Lūṇa vasahī. She sits in the 'lalita' pose with the composite figure of a 'makara-hasti' as her vāhana. The image discussed on p. 147 and recognised as Gaurī, has the same vāhana, but in this case the symbols held by the goddess are different. She carries a long bag holding its two ends with the two uppermost hands. The middle right holds a flame, the middle left a pot or a box, the third right hand carries the rosary while the corresponding left shows the citron. None of the symbols held by her can help one to identify her as the Mahā-vidyā Gaurī. She cannot be Pannagā yakṣī as she holds quite a different set of symbols and as the other three goddesses in this ceiling can be identified as Mānavī, Apraticakrā and Manasī vidyā, she should be recognised as one of the Mahā-vidyās. In that case she might be tentatively acknowledged as the Gaurī vidyā.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā^{133a} speaks of a multi-armed form with the same colour and vāhana, and holding in her many hands the lotus and such other symbols not specified in the text.

The Jaina Gaurī is similar to the Brāhmanical Gaurī, not only in name but also in form. According to Rūpamaṇḍana, all Brāhmanical forms of Gaurī are assigned four arms and the 'godhā' vehicle. Moreover the lotus is one of the chief symbols carried by various forms of Gaurī, such as, Umā, Gaurī and Sāvitrī. The rosary and the 'varada' frequently occur in the various forms of the Brāhmanical Gaurī.¹³⁴

The Jinas were more generous than the Buddhists in their treatment

of Hindu deities, since the Brāhmanical Gaurī received scant courtesy in Buddhist worship. We find her in a different position under the feet of the Buddhist god Trailokyavijaya, along with her consort, Śiva.¹⁸⁵

Gaurī is one of the four ancient Mahāvidyās according to the Jaina tradition given by Jinadāsa Mahattara and Haribhadra. Gaurī and Gāndhārī are also referred to in the Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya. It is interesting to find that the Niśītha, uddeśa 16, Bhāṣya verse 63, refers to Ratnadevatā, Śucividyās and Mātāṅgavidyās named Gaurī and Gāndhārī. Thus both Gaurī and Gāndhārī are assigned to the vidyās of Mātāṅga and, therefore belong to the class of Cāṇḍālīvidyās. This would suggest the original source of worship of the two most ancient female divinities, Gaurī and Gāndhārī. Of these, the first is well known in the Hindu pantheon as the śakti or the wife of Śiva whose worship is generally supposed to belong to the non-Aryan masses of ancient India. Mātāṅgī and Cāṇḍālī belong to the Śaivite Tantra.

The second Aṅga of the Jaina canon, known as the 'Sūtrakṛtāṅga', includes amongst 'pāpaśrutas' or sinful sciences vidyās like Kālīṅgī, Dāmīlī, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Śvapākī, Vetālī and others. This is noteworthy in as much as it establishes both the antiquity and the non-Jaina and possibly non-Aryan origin of both Gaurī and Gāndhārī.

GANDHARI: THE TENTH MAHAVIDYA

Gāndhārī, according to Hemacandra, is so called because she supports the earth.¹⁸⁶ A commentary on Śobhana-stuti explains the name differently and says that Gāndhārī is so called because she was born in Gandhāra in her previous existence.¹⁸⁷ This may also suggest that the worship of this deity originated in Gandhāra.

Both the sects address this Vidyādevī as Gāndhārī. It may however be noted that the Śvetāmbara yakṣī of Neminātha and the Digambara yakṣī of Vāsupujya are also known as Gāndhārī, but the symbols differ widely in all cases.

This vidyā seems to have been worshipped principally in three varieties of forms : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed and (3) multi-armed.

I. Two-Armed Variety. According to Bappabhaṭṭī sūri,¹⁸⁸ Śobhana muni and the author of the Ācāradinakara,¹⁸⁹ Gāndhārī holds the 'vajra' and

the pestle in her two hands, and sits on the lotus. The goddess is said to be dark-blue in complexion.

In the Digambara tradition represented by Āśādhara, Nemicandra as well as Śubhacandra,¹⁴⁰ Gāndhārī is dark-blue in complexion, rides a tortoise and holds the disc and the sword in her two hands.

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā¹⁴¹ says that Gāndhārī is dark-blue in complexion and sits on the lotus. She is four-armed, and shows the 'varada mudrā' and the pestle in her two right hands and the 'abhaya' and the 'vajra' in the two left ones.

According to Mantrādhirājakalpa,¹⁴² she shows the trident, the staff, the 'abhaya' and the 'varada' in her four hands. She is black in appearance and sits on the lotus.

In the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniature, Gāndhārī holds the pestle and the 'vajra' in the right and the left upper hands, while the two lower ones exhibit the 'varada mudrā'. She is indigo-coloured, and has the lotus as her seat.

In the Vimala vasahī, a goddess is represented as standing and as four-armed. She carries the 'vajra' in the two upper hands and the rosary and the citron in the right and the left lower ones respectively. A ram-like creature is shown as her vāhana. It would seem that this figure represents Gāndhārī with a different vāhana, the 'vajra' in the two upper hands suggesting that the form agrees partly with the dhyānas of Nirvāṇalikā and other texts. Now Bappabhaṭṭī supplying the earliest dhyāna gives the 'vajra' and the pestle in her two hands. Thus another figure in this set showing the pestle in the right upper hand, the noose in the left upper, the rosary in the right lower and the citron in the left lower can also be suggested as representing Gāndhārī. Besides, the lotus, recognised by all texts, is shown as her cognizance. The identification is tentative.

In the Kharataravasahī sets, Gāndhārī carries the trident and the 'vajra' in the right and the left upper hands and shows the 'varada' and the fruit in the corresponding lower ones. The lotus is her cognizance.

A figure of Gāndhārī is represented on a loose door-frame lying in one of the Jaina temples at Kumbhāriā. Here the devī sits upon a stool in the 'lalita' pose and carries the 'vajra' in the right upper hand.

and the pestle in the left lower. In her left upper hand she carries an object which seems to represent the leaf of a tree while the right lower hand is held in the varada pose. The lotus is her cognizance.

III. Six-Armed Variety. In the Vimāla vaśahī set of six-armed vidyās, Gāndhārī is difficult to recognise in the present state of our knowledge. No suggestions are possible. However, the existence of a six-armed form cannot be doubted.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. According to the Nirvāṇakalikā,¹⁴³ Gāndhārī is green and holds the 'vajra', the pestle, and numerous other weapons in her many hands.

Gāndhārī, as already noted in the preceding pages, has been referred to by Jinadāsa, and Haribhadra amongst the four Mahā-vidyās. She seems to have been both ancient and popular as can be seen from the fact that 'Gaurī' and 'Gāndhārī' are included in the list of 'pāpaśrutas' by the Sūtrakṛtāṅga.

MAHAJVALA OR JVALAMALINI : THE ELEVENTH MAHAVIDYA

The eleventh Vidyādevī is known variously as 'Jvālā', 'Mahājvālā', 'Jvālānāyudhā', 'Sarvāstra-mahā-jvālā', 'Jvālā-mātrī', or 'Jvālā-mālinī', amongst Jains of both the sects. According to Hemacandra,¹⁴⁴ she is called Sarvāstra-mahā-jvālā because large flames of fire issue from all the weapons held by her. It can be seen however that all the names of the goddess are derived from 'jvālā' (flame). Both the sects unanimously invoke her as the eleventh Mahāvidyā with the difference that between them there is no agreement with regard to the forms and symbols. But it appears from the common epithet, and the repeated references to the goddess in Jaina Tāntric texts both of the Digambaras and of the Śvetāmbaras, that although there are differences between the Śvetāmbara and Digāmbara forms of the goddess, they nevertheless do not represent different deities.

The yakṣiṇī of Candraprabha is also known as Jvālāmālinī in the Digāmbara tradition. The form of this yakṣi is similar to that of the Jvālāmālinī Vidyā amongst the Digambaras, the buffalo being common to both. Both hold several common symbols.

Helācārya is said to have composed a text (in Prākṛt) prescribing

different t̃āntric rites for Jvālāmālinī, the yakṣiṇī of Candraprabha, according to Indranandī who says that his text of Jvālīnī-kalpa (composed in Sanskr̥t in Śāka 861) was based upon the latter's work.¹⁴⁵ Thus the worship of Jvālā-mālinī, the yakṣī, was not only ancient but also popular. However, the Jvālā-mālinī vidyā seems to be earlier than the yakṣiṇī of the same name in Jaina worship. Saṅghadāsa gaṇi, a Śvetāmbara writer who flourished in c. 500 A. D., refers to a vidyā called 'Mahā-jvālīnī' or 'Jvālā-vatī' and describes her as 'sarva-vidyācchedinī', that is, powerful enough to uproot the rival schools or vidyās. This also explains the terrific nature of the goddess.¹⁴⁶

Indranandī addresses the yakṣī as 'Jvālīnī', 'Jvālā-mālā', 'Jvālānaśikhā', 'Śikhi-mad-devī' and 'Vahni-devī'. Now a goddess known as Vahni figures as the yakṣiṇī of Śreyāmsanātha in the temple no. 12 at Deogarh, U. P., where a set of different yakṣiṇīs is represented and where the yakṣiṇī of Chandraprabha is called 'Sumālinī'. Thus it is quite clear that the association of the name Jvālā-mālinī with the yakṣiṇī of Candraprabha was not universally acknowledged when the Deogarh set was carved and that very probably the Jvālīnī vidyā is the predecessor and the prototype of Jvālā-mālinī, the yakṣiṇī.

Figures of Jvālā-mālinī Mahāvidyā are represented in four principal varieties of forms : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed, (3) eight-armed and (4) multi-armed. In the Digambara tradition, we find references to the eight-armed form alone ; it should also be noted that the Śvetāmbara texts do not specifically describe an eight-armed form. The 'jvālā' or flame of fire is her chief recognition symbol.

I. Two-Armed Variety. According to the Ācāradinakara,¹⁴⁷ Jvālā is white in colour ; she rides a cat and carries the fire-brand in both the hands. Śobhana muni refers to her as white in complexion and slim at the waist. She is called 'Jvālānayudhā', wielder of blazing weapons.¹⁴⁸

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Mantrādhirājakalpa of Sāgaracandra¹⁴⁹ describes a four-armed form of 'Mahā-jvālā'. When four-armed, she is white in complexion and holds a serpent in each of her four hands. The goose is her vāhana.

In the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniature, she is white, wears yellow garments and rides a lion. In her right and left upper hands she holds

the trident and the lotus, while the two lower ones show the 'varada' and the citron respectively.

A standing figure of the goddess is to be seen in the Vimala vasahī group. A griffin-like creature, which probably stands for a cat, is her vāhana. She shows the flame of fire in the left upper hand and the rosary in the right lower one. The symbols of the remaining hands are mutilated beyond recognition. But she probably held the flame of fire in the right upper hand as can be inferred from the following figure.

This is found amongst the group of goddesses carved on a loose marble door-frame lying outside the Mahāvīra temple. The goddess here carries a vessel with flames in each of the two upper hands and shows the 'varada' and the citron in her right and the left lower hands. The deity sits in the 'lalita' pose upon a stool in front of which is carved the figure of a ferocious cat. From this it may be inferred that the Vimala vasahī figure discussed above also carried a fruit in the left lower hand.

It is difficult to identify Mahā-jvālā from the Kharataravasahī sets. Two figures of a goddess, in the standing and sitting postures, show the fish vāhana and the 'varada' and the fruit in the lower hands. Symbols of the upper pair of hands are indistinct.

III. Six-Armed Variety. It is also difficult to find out Mahā-jvālā from the circle of six-armed vidyādevīs in the corridor-ceiling in front of cell no. 41, Vimala vasahī. But the existence of a six-armed variety cannot be disputed.

IV. Eight-Armed Variety. None of the Digambara texts gives all the eight symbols held by Jvālāmālīnī, although they expressly address her as eight-armed. According to the Pratiṣṭhātilaka,¹⁵⁰ she holds the bow, the arrow and such other weapons and shines with flames. According to the Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra,¹⁵¹ Jvālīnī is white, carries the bow, the shield, the sword, the disc and such other weapons in her eight hands which look terrific. She rides the buffalo. Śubhacandra gives the same symbols and calls her Jvālāmālīnī. Since the Digambara Yakṣī Jvālāmālīnī also rides the buffalo and carries these symbols it is difficult to differentiate between the two.

V. Multi-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā¹⁵² gives two dhyānas

for this form but does not speak of any two or four-armed variety as is usual. As *Sarvāstra-mahā-Jvālā*, she is white, rides on a boar and wields innumerable weapons in her hands. Again she is invoked as *Jvālā-Mātṛ*, white in colour, and holding very terrific weapons like the blazing fire-brand, etc., in her numerous fierce-looking hands. Both the descriptions refer to one and the same variety of form.

Amongst the Buddhists, *Ekajaṭā*, an emanation of *Akṣobhya*, offers comparison with some of the peculiarities of the icons of the Jaina *Jvālā-mālinī*. *Ekajaṭā* is worshipped as having two, four, eight or twenty-four arms. In her last form, she is addressed as '*Vidyut-jvālākarālī*' and holds the noose, the sword, the arrow, the disc, the 'vajra', the trident, the lotus, the banner, the axe and such other weapons. When eight-armed, *Ekajaṭā* carries the sword, the arrow, the 'vajra', the 'kartri', the bow, the lotus, the axe, and the skull in her hands. *Ekajaṭā* is terrific in appearance.¹⁵³

A goddess *Jvālā-mālinī* is included in the list of the sixteen *Nityās* in the *Brāhmanical Kaula-Tantras*. In the *Śarabha-Tantra* she is described as twelve-armed showing the noose, the shield, the arrow, the trident, the lotus, the 'varada', the goad, the sword, the 'śakti', the bow and the 'abhaya' in her hands. She has six faces and 'shines like fire'.¹⁵⁴ It is also important to note that like the Jaina *Jvālā-mālinī*, one of the most ancient forms of *Durgā*, namely, *Mahiṣamarddinī*, has the buffalo associated with herself.

MANAVI: THE TWELFTH MAHAVIDYA

Both the sects call the twelfth *Vidyādevī* *Mānavī*. *Mānavī* is so called because she is (born) of *Manu*, according to the explanation offered by *Hemachandra*.¹⁵⁵ The *Mantrādhirājakalpa* calls her '*mānavā-namya-pada-dvayā*', one whose pair of feet is worshipped by human beings.

The *yakṣī* of *Śreyāṃsanātha* in the *Śvetāmbara* tradition and the *yakṣī* of *Śīṭalanātha* in the *Digāmbara* pantheon have also the same name. The *Digāmbara yakṣī* has the same *vāhana* as the *Digāmbara vidyādevī Mānavī*, and the same is the case in the *Śvetāmbara* tradition.

Mānavī, may be represented as : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed or (3) multi-armed. The tree appears to be the chief distinguishing symbol in the early *Śvetāmbara* tradition.



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I. Two-Armed Variety. Bappabhatti¹⁵⁶ says that she possesses a fine tree, and rests on a lotus. According to Śobhana muni, she is dark in colour, sits on the lotus, and holds the best tree full of foliage and fruits, in her hands. According to the Ācāradinakara, Mānavī is dark-blue in complexion, and carries a tree in her hand. She rests on the blue lotus.¹⁵⁷

According to the Digambara text Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra,¹⁵⁸ Mānavī is dark-blue, rides the hog, and carries the fish and the trident in her hands. Śubhacandra agrees with the description of the goddess.

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvānakalikā¹⁵⁹ describes her as four armed and as black in complexion. She shows the 'varada' and the noose in the two right hands, and the rosary and the tree in the two left. The goddess sits on a lotus.

According to the Mantrādhirājakalpa¹⁶⁰ Mānavī, when four armed is variegated in colour, and shows the tree, the rosary and the 'varada' in her hands. The fourth symbol is not mentioned, but may be another tree.

The Pratiṣṭhātilaka¹⁶¹ gives the fish, the sword and the trident as her weapons. The fourth symbol is not mentioned. Vasunandī also refers to a four-armed form, but gives the trident symbol only. She is dark-blue in complexion. It is quite possible that she should show the trident in all her four hands. She is said to be dark-blue in complexion.

In the Chāṇī miniature, Mānavī is black, and holds a lotus like bunch—a tree—in each of the two upper hands; the lower right hand shows the 'varada mudrā' while the lower left carries the rosary. Wearing a red garment she sits on a cushion and a lotus is shown as her vāhana.

In a corridor ceiling in the Tejahpāla temple (Lūṇa vasahī), Mānavī is represented together with three other vidyās. She holds the lotus in each of the two upper hands, her lower right hand, held in the 'abhaya mudrā', carries the rosary, while the corresponding left holds the 'kalaśa'. The goddess sits in the 'lalita' pose upon a stool in front of which is shown the lotus cognizance of Mānavī.

The Vimala vasahī group also contains a figure of Mānavī in a standing posture. In her right lower hand she shows the rosary, while the left upper carries the trident. The remaining symbols are mutilated.

The lotus is shown as her *vāhana*. She is identified with the help of the Kharataravasahī sets discussed below.

In the Kharataravasahī sets Mānavī is placed after Mahāmānasī. She has the lotus as her cognizance, carries the rosary in the right upper hand, the lotus in the left upper, and shows the 'varada' and the pot in the corresponding lower ones.

III. Six-Armed Variety. It is difficult to identify Mānavī in the set of six-armed vidyādevīs in the Vimala vasahī. But the existence of such a form cannot be questioned.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. In the Nirvāṇakalikā,¹⁰² Mānavī is given a terrific form which carries uprooted trees, and various other destructive weapons in her numerous hands. The colour of her body is emerald-green.

VAIROṬYĀ : THE THIRTEENTH MAHAVIDYĀ

Vairoṭyā or Vairoṭī is the thirteenth Mahāvidyā according to both the sects. Hemacandra explains her name Vairoṭyā as one who is resorted to for the removal of enmity.¹⁰³

The Digambara yakṣī of the thirteenth Jina is also called Vairoṭī. In all cases Vairoṭyā is a snake-goddess in Jainism and her iconography always retains this character. As a yakṣī, however, Vairoṭyā usually holds the arrow and the bow instead of the sword and the shield while the snake symbol is common to both the vidyādevī and the yakṣī. Since the Mahāvidyās are relatively earlier in age than the twenty-four yakṣiṇīs in Jaina worship, it is likely that the yakṣī Vairoṭyā was modelled after the vidyādevī of the same name.

Vairoṭyā has been addressed as 'Dharaṇāgrimayoṣit',¹⁰⁴ or the chief queen of the snake-king Dharaṇendra. It is, however, surprising to find that she is omitted in the ancient lists of the chief queens of Dharaṇa given by the 'Bhagavatī sūtra' and the 'Sthānāṅga sūtra'.¹⁰⁵ But later texts associate her with Dharaṇa and the incident of Kamaṭha's attack on Pārśvanātha when she is said to have accompanied her lord Dharaṇa in the service of the Jina. She is obviously different from Padmāvatī who is also associated with Dharaṇendra as the latter's chief queen in the incident of Kamaṭha's 'upasargas'.

In earlier times she was probably more popular than now, and her position has been gradually usurped by the ever-growing popularity of Padmāvatī. A 'Vairoṭyā-stotra' attributed to Ārya Nandila or Ārya Ānandila sūri is published.¹⁰⁶ The Prabhāvaka-caritra and the Prabandha-kośa give a story of the previous existence of the snake-goddess Vairoṭyā : Vairoṭyā was married to Varadatta, the son of Padmatta and Padmayaśā. Unfortunately Vairoṭyā's father died in a forest conflagration from which date the poor lady was greatly harassed by her mother-in-law. Once upon a time Ārya Nandila sūri came to the city and stayed in a park. Vairoṭyā, pregnant as she was, desired to taste 'pāyasa-anna' (milk and rice cooked together) but unfortunately could not satisfy her wish ('dohada') due to the evil nature of her mother-in-law. The learned Ācārya advised her to keep quiet and wait. Once when 'pāyasa' was prepared at home, Vairoṭyā concealed a portion of it in a pot and went out to fetch water. She placed the pot under the shade of a tree when the queen of the snake-king Alīṅgarā, desiring the same food, turned up and devoured the contents of the pot. She was satisfied and from that time onwards helped Vairoṭyā in various ways. Vairoṭyā could go to the Nāga-loka whenever she willed. At this, the Ācārya Ārya Nandila asked Vairoṭyā to request the Nāga-Kumāras to stop injuring human beings. The request was immediately granted. After death, Vairoṭyā was reborn as the chief queen of the Nāga-king Dharanendra and the great saint Ārya Nandila composed a new hymn addressed to Vairoṭyā. Whoever recites this hymn is freed from the danger of serpents.¹⁰⁷

Such is the story of the origin of this goddess in the times of Ārya Nandila in the second century A. D. Though this account is found in a later work, it is probable that the Jainas at Mathurā in the second century A. D., had incorporated some sort of Nāga-worship which was then popular in the city of Mathurā.

Vairoṭyā seems to have been worshipped in at least three principal varieties : two-armed, four-armed and multi-armed.

I. Two-Armed Variety. Bappabhaṭṭī calls her addressing her as Vairoṭyā, the chief queen of Dharanā in one verse, and in another, he says that the deity carries the snake and the sword. Vairoṭyā is black in complexion and shines with snake ornaments.¹⁰⁸ It is interesting to note

that Bappabhaṭṭī refers to Vairoṭyā as one who pacified even the fiercest enemy. This reference, seen in the light of the later account noted above, clearly shows that the tradition represented by the Prabandha-kośa and the Prabhāvakacaritra was based upon an older account known also to Bappabhaṭṭī. Śobhana muni addresses a verse to 'the chief queen of snakes'. Dhanapāla, his brother, commenting on it, says that by this epithet Vairoṭyā is meant. Śobhana describes her as black in complexion and riding on the cobra. She wears snake-ornaments and carries the best sword in her hand. Encircled by the sweet-singing damsels of heaven, Vairoṭyā of dark curly hair is invoked for protection from obstacles.¹⁶⁹

II. Four-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā¹⁷⁰ describes her as holding the snake and the shield in her right hands and the sword and the snake in the left ones. Black in colour, she employs the cobra as her vāhana.

A metal image of Vairoṭyā preserved in the Mahāvīra temple at Jodhpur, represents her with a snake overhead and carrying snakes in both the upper hands, while the lower right and the lower left show the sword and the shield respectively. The goddess sits in 'bhadraśana', her snake vehicle being placed on the left. The inscription behind the image shows that it was installed by Dharāṇaka, a 'nāgara' by caste, who came from Vijāpur, in Saṃvat 1472 (A. D. 1415).

The Mantrādhirāja-kalpa gives the same symbols as the Nirvāṇakalikā but mentions the eagle as her vāhana.¹⁷¹

In the Rṣimaṇḍala-Paṭa, published by Dr. Hirananda Shastri,¹⁷² Vairoṭyā is represented as four-armed and dark in complexion, with three snakehoods over the crown and carrying snakes in the two upper hands. The right lower hand is held in the 'varada' pose while the left lower, though indistinct, probably held the citron.

The Chāṇī miniature on palm-leaf represents her black in complexion, and wearing a yellow lower garment with red design. The goddess has the cobra-vehicle and carries the snake and the shield in the right and the left upper hands while the sword and the snake are held in the corresponding lower ones.

A metal image from Cambay represents the goddess in the same form with three snake-hoods over her crown. The image is not inscribed

but seems to belong to the late mediaeval period. A sculpture in the Vimāla vasahī set of four-armed Mahā-vidyās represents her in a standing attitude and carrying the citron instead of the snake in the left lower hand. The right lower held a sword. On her right is the snake vehicle, a nāga with a half-human and half-snake body.

The same form is shown in the dome of the sabhāmaṇḍapa of the Lūṇa vasahī. In the Kharataravasahī sets, again, Vairoṭyā has the same order of symbols but appears to have a different vāhana. The figure of the vāhana is however indistinct.

Several figures of Vairoṭyā are represented in the Vimāla vasahī and in the group of temples at Kumbhāriā. Almost all of them show the last-mentioned set of symbols. Amongst a few exceptions may be noted the figure of Vairoṭyā carved on one side of the door-frame leading into the sanctum of the temple of Śāntinātha (?). Here although the goddess carries the same set of symbols, her vāhana is different.

The figure of the vāhana is partly mutilated but it looks like the bull. A bull vāhana is also carved in the case of another figure of Vairoṭyā in the Pārśvanātha temple at Kumbhāriā.

In the Vimāla vasahī, a figure of Vairoṭyā on one side of the door-frame of cell no. 1 holds the snake and the shield in the two upper hands, her left lower hand shows the 'varada mudrā' instead of the more common citron while the sword is held in the right lower hand. A mutilated figure of her snake vehicle is visible on her right.

Another sculpture, from a corridor ceiling (in front of cell no. 53) in the same temple, represents her as sitting in the 'lalita' pose and carrying the sword and the shield in the right and the left upper hands, while the rosary and the snake are shown in the corresponding lower ones.

The Ācāradinakara¹⁷³ presents a different tradition : White in complexion, Vairoṭyā rides the lion, carries the sword and the shield in her two upper hands, and shows the snake and the 'varada mudrā' in two lower ones.

Digambara texts like the Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, the Pratiṣṭhātilaka¹⁷⁴ and the Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā do not clearly mention the number of her hands, but merely say that Vairoṭyā carries the snake symbol. According to this tradition, she is sky-blue in complexion and rides on the lion.

Very probably, a four-armed form with the snake in each hand was contemplated.

A peculiar bronze image of a goddess sitting in the 'lalita' pose and carrying the snake in each of her four hands is preserved in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. She has a canopy of a seven-hooded cobra over her crown. Her vehicle, peeping out from behind the right leg, is difficult to identify, but seems to be a lion. An inscription on the back, shows that the goddess was installed in Samvat (15) 52 (1495-6 A. D.). She is called a 'gotradevī Tārīṇī', a tutelary goddess, Tārīṇī by name.

Dr. Sankalia, who first discussed the figure ¹⁷⁵, has shown that it cannot be identified with any Śvetāmbara or Digambara goddess associated with snakes. But in view of the fact that the Acāradinakara as also all the Digambara works mention a lion vehicle and as the Digambara texts merely refer to the snake symbol of Vairoṭyā, the identification of this bronze as representing Vairoṭyā is not untenable. Since she is clearly addressed as a 'gotradevī' in the inscription, the figure should be identified as Vairoṭyā in the role of a tutelary goddess. The practices of installing well-known Jaina goddesses like Ambikā as tutelary deities was prevalent in the late mediaeval period. The bronze figure discussed above is a product of Western India, probably Gujarāt or Rājputānā.

III. Six-Armed Variety. The figure of Vairoṭyā cannot be identified in the group of six-armed Mahā-vidyās in the Vimāla vasahī, although there is one goddess carrying the sword and the shield. The snake hoods are however missing.

IV. Multi-Armed Variety. In her terrific multi-armed form, Vairoṭyā is black and holds, according to the Nirvāṇakalikā,¹⁷⁶ deadly serpents and numerous other weapons.

A sixteen-armed goddess from one of the corridor ceilings in the Vimāla vasahī ('bhāva no. 33') can be identified as representing Vairoṭyā, the thirteenth mahā-devī. The goddess sits upon a stool in the 'lalita' pose, under the canopy of a seven-hooded cobra held over her crown. A standing female on each side attends upon her with a fly-whisk. Symbols of some of the hands of the goddess are mutilated beyond recognition, but the snake, the mutilated disc and the 'varada' pose are

seen in her right hands while the left ones still show the snake, the shield, the snake and the 'kalāśa'. On each side of the stool is the figure of a nāginī over whose head is held one of the hands of the goddess. A third nāginī, represented as a mermaid, with both hands folded, is placed in front of the stool and signifies the vāhana of Vairoṭyā.

Vairoṭyā is an ancient Jaina snake-deity. The fact that the Vairoṭya stava of Ārya Ānandila is used for cure from snake-bites reminds one of the 'Jaṅgoli-vidyā' of the Jaina Aṅga texts noted above. Possibly Vairoṭyā is another name or a modified form of the ancient Jaṅgolividya. This also reminds one of the Buddhist snake-goddess Jāṅgulī.

ACC HUPTA OR ACYUTA : THE FOURTEENTH MAHAVIDYA

The fourteenth Vidyādevī is called 'Acchuptā' or 'Acyutā' by the Śvetāmbara pantheon, and 'Acyutā' by the Digambaras. According to Hemacandra she is called 'Acchuptā' because she cannot be defiled by sins.¹⁷⁷

The Śvetāmbara yakṣiṇī of the sixth Tīrthaṅkara is also called 'Acyutā'; she holds a different set of symbols and rides a man.

The Vidyādevī is worshipped in three principal forms : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed and (3) multi-armed.

I. Two-Armed Variety. Bappabhaṭṭi sūri refers to the sword and the bow carried by 'Acchuptā' riding a horse. According to him the goddess is white in complexion.¹⁷⁸

The Pratiṣṭhātilaka, the Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra and the Sārasvatayantrapūjā¹⁷⁹ merely refer to the white sword held by 'Acyutā' who is golden in colour and rides on a horse. These Digambara texts are not quite explicit regarding the number of Acyutā's arms, but it seems that besides the vehicle, the sword was the chief distinguishing symbol with the Digambaras.

II. Four-Armed Variety. Śobhana says that Acyutā, golden in complexion and riding on a horse, holds the bow, the shield, the sword and the arrow in her hands.¹⁸⁰ According to the Ācāradinakara¹⁸¹, she holds the bow and the shield in the left arms and the arrow and the sword in the right ones. Bright like lightning, Acchuptikā rides on the horse.

In the Chāṇī miniature, she holds the above symbols and rides on

the same vāhana. But she is red in colour and wears a yellow garment with red designs.

On a pillar of the raṅgamaṇḍapa of the Vimala vasahī at Dilawārā is a well-preserved standing image of Acchuptā carrying the bow in the right upper hand, the arrow in the left upper, the citron in the left lower while the right lower is in the 'varada' pose. The horse vāhana is seen on her left while on the right there is a small standing male figure of a devotee.

In the Kharataravasahī sets Acchuptā shows the bow and the arrow in the right and the left upper hands and carries the sword and the shield with the corresponding lower ones. The horse is her vāhana. The symbols of the lower hands in the Chāṇī miniature are here held in the upper ones and 'vice versa'.

Another figure of the goddess from Vimala vasahī represents a different form. Here the rosary and the water-pot ('kamaṇḍalu') replace the 'varada' and the citron of the above figure. The figure in the ceiling of the raṅgamaṇḍapa of the Vimala vasahī represents the same form. A figure from the corresponding ceiling of the Lūṇa Vasahī shows the same set of symbols.

The Ābu and the Kumbhāriā temples show that worship of Acchuptā was very popular at least in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.

The Nirvāṇakalikā¹⁸³ says that Acchuptā has the colour of lightening and rides on a horse. She carries the sword and the arrow in her right hands and the shield and the snake in the left ones.

In the Mantrādhirājakaḷpa she is white and holds the sword, the 'asipatra' (sword-shaped leaf ?), the arrow and the shield.¹⁸³

The Digambara writer Vasunandī says that Acyutā is four-armed, golden in complexion and carries the 'vajra' symbol.

III. Six-Armed Variety. In the group of six-armed vidyādevīs in the Vimala vasahī Acchuptā cannot be easily identified. She carries the arrow in the uppermost right hand and the bow in the corresponding left one. The middle pair of hands show the 'jñāna' 'or' 'vyākhyāna mudrā' while the 'varada' and citron are shown by the lowermost right and the left hands respectively. As Rohiṇī carries the same symbols, the identification is difficult.

IV. *Multi-Armed Variety.* As usual, the Nirvāṇakalikā gives a multi-armed form. Golden in colour, the Vidyādevī is said to hold the bow and such other weapons in her hands.¹⁸

Acchuptā has been very popular in the Jaina rituals. She is often invoked along with the Śāsana-devatā in Jaina rituals. The Abu and the Kumbhāriā temples already referred to have several representations on the pillars and door-frames of minor cells.

MANASI: THE FIFTEENTH MAHAVIDYA

The fifteenth Vidyādevī is known as Mānasī in both the traditions. According to Hemacandra,¹⁸⁵ she is so called because she is born of the mind ('manas').

The Digambara yakṣī of the fifteenth Jina, also called Mānasī, has a different vāhana and symbols.

Mānasī has three principal varieties of form : (1) two-armed, (2) four-armed, and (3) multi-armed. Images of the first and the last varieties cannot be found, although their iconography can be traced in literary traditions.

I. *Two-Armed Variety.* According to the Ācāradinakara,¹⁸⁶ Mānasī is golden, rides the swan and shows the 'vajra' and the 'varada' symbols. Śobhana muni, who refers to the 'vajra' alone, also seems to invoke a two-armed form.¹⁸⁷ Bappabhaṭṭī refers to the burning 'heti' held by her.¹⁸⁸

According to the Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, Mānasī holds the trident and the rosary in her two hands. She has a smiling (prasanna) countenance shining like the full-moon.¹⁸⁹ Golden in appearance, she rides on the swan.

In the Digambara tradition represented by Āśādhara, Nemicaṇḍra and Śubhacandra, Mānasī has both the hands folded in adoration. She is red in complexion and employs the snake as her vāhana.¹⁹⁰

II. *Four-Armed Variety.* The Nirvāṇakalikā¹⁹¹ says that Mānasī, white in colour and riding on a swan, shows the 'varada' and the 'vajra' in her right hands and the rosary and the 'vajra' in the left ones.

In the Chāṇī palm-leaf miniature, she is white in complexion and carries the thunderbolt ('vajra') and the full-blown lotus in the right and

the left upper hands, while the corresponding lower hands show the 'varada' and the rosary.

A figure on the ceiling in the Vimala vasahī presents a different form of the goddess. Here the devī is standing and her swan vehicle is seen beside her right foot. In the right upper hand she holds the thunderbolt and carries the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' (bell surmounted by the thunderbolt) in the left upper one. The right lower shows the rosary while the left lower is mutilated. The swan vehicle and the 'vajra', the recognition symbol noted by Śobhana muni, help in identifying her as the Śvetāmbara Mahāvidyā Mānasī.

In the Kharataravasahī sets, Mānasī holds the 'vajra' in the two upper hands, and shows the 'varada' and the pot in the right and the left lower ones. The swan is her vāhana.

The Digambara writer Vasunandi says that she is red in complexion and four-armed, two of which are folded in the 'praṇāma mudrā'.

II. Six-Armed Variety. In the Vimala vasahī set of six-armed vidyās no identification of the Mānasī vidyā is possible. However, the existence of a tradition of a six-armed Mānasī is quite certain. And a six-armed figure of a goddess with the swan vehicle, from the corridor ceiling of the Lūṇa vasahī already referred to, can be identified as representing the Mahāvidyā Mānasī. The goddess here sits in the 'lalita' pose and carries the lotus in the uppermost right hand and the disc in the corresponding left one. In the middle pair, she holds the 'vajra-ghaṇṭā' in the right and the lotus in the left hands; in the third pair are shown the rosary and the citron in a similar order.

III. Multi-Armed Variety. The Nirvāṇakalikā¹⁰² describes a multi-armed form. In this she is red in complexion and holds the 'śakti' and numerous other weapons in her hands.

MAHAMANASI: THE SIXTEENTH MAHAVIDYA

Mahāmānasī is the last in the list of the sixteen principal vidyādevīs in Jaina worship. Hemacandra's explanation of her name is not convincing. She has the same title in both the sects, though with different iconographical details.¹⁰³

The Digambara yakṣiṇī of the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha is also called Mahāmānasī but her symbols and the vāhana differ.

Two principal varieties of her form are known so far : the four-armed and the multi-armed. The second variety is described in the Śvetāmbara texts only but the existence of a similar form in the Digambara worship is not unlikely.

Of the existence of a two-armed form, no definite proofs are forthcoming. Śobhana muni refers to her as riding on the lion and holding the sword symbol. Probably a two-armed form is intended.¹⁹⁴

I. Four-Armed Variety. Bappabhaṭṭi¹⁹⁵ invokes Mahāmānasī, shining like lightning, riding on the lion and holding the sword, the shield, the jewel and the gourd (kuṇḍikā) in her four hands.

According to the Nirvāṇakalikā,¹⁹⁶ she shows the 'varada' and the sword in the right hands and carries the pitcher and the shield in the left ones.

The Mantrādhirāja-kalpa¹⁹⁷ states that she has a golden appearance, and replaces the 'abhaya' for the 'varada' in the above list.

In the Vimāla vasahī set, Mahāmānasī is standing with her right foot resting on her lion vehicle and carrying the sword and the shield in her right and the left upper hands respectively. Her left lower arm appears to have been shown in the 'abhaya' pose. The fourth arm is mutilated.

The symbol of the right upper hand in the above figure can however be inferred with the help of another sculpture of Mahāmānasī preserved in the Sabhāmāṇḍapa ceiling of the Lūṇa vasahī. Here the goddess shows the 'abhaya mudrā' in the right upper hand while the three other symbols remain unchanged.

The Ācāradinakara represents another tradition and says that she rides on a crocodile. White in complexion, she shows the sword, the shield, the jewel and the 'varada' symbols.¹⁹⁸ She shines like the moon.

Another type is seen in the Chāṇī miniature which represents her as white in colour and carrying the sword and the shield in her right and left upper hands while the 'varada' and the citron are shown in the corresponding lower ones. She wears a lower garment of yellow colour with red designs and sits on the lion.

In the Kharataravasahī, Mahāmānasī shows different sets of symbols. The goddess sits in the 'lalita' pose and carries the rosary and the lotus in the right and the left upper hands respectively while showing the 'varada' and the pot with the corresponding lower ones. The swan is shown as her vāhana. In the second figure of Mahāmānasī, represented as standing, the book replaces the pot symbol of the preceding description while all other symbols remain unchanged. This second form remarkably agrees with one of the four-armed varieties of the Jaina goddess of learning (Sarasvatī).

In the Digambara tradition represented by Pratiṣṭhātilaka and Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, the goddess shows the 'varada', the rosary, the goad and the garland in her four hands. Mahāmānasī is red in complexion and rides on a swan. Śubhacandra also follows this tradition.¹⁹⁹

Vasunandī gives a different form when he says that Mahāmānasī, four-armed and coral-like in complexion, shows, in the two principal hands, the 'praṇāma mudrā' or the mudrā of adoration.²⁰⁰

II. Six-Armed Variety. In the Vimala vasahī set, there are two goddesses carrying the book in one hand. The first, with the Vīṇā and the book in the topmost hands, shows the 'vyākhyāna mudrā' in the middle pair and the 'varada' and the citron in the last pair; the second figure shows the 'varada' and the pot in the last pair, a laddle-like object in the middle right hand and the 'abhaya' and the book in the remaining left hands. The symbol of the topmost right hand is indistinct. One of these two goddesses may be Mahāmānasī and the other may be Mānasī. But in the absence of any other evidence, a correct identification is impossible.

III. Multi-Armed Variety. As usual, the Nirvāṇakalikā adds a multi-armed form of the Mahāvidyā. Bright like the flash of lightning, she holds in her many hands, the bow and numerous other weapons.²⁰¹

Of the five multi-armed goddesses in the corridor ceilings of the Vimala vasahī, three are already discussed here. The first with the buffalo vehicle, is Mahā-Puruṣadattā, the second with a horse-like vāhana, carrying the chain, is recognised as the Vajraśṛṅghalā vidyā and the third is Vairoṭyā. The fourth, discussed elsewhere (Journal of the Bombay University, X. 2. p. 210, fig. 36), is the Jaina Goddess of Learning



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The fifth, twenty-armed and having the lion vehicle may also represent one of the Mahā-vidyās. Symbols of some of the hands of the figure are mutilated but of the remaining, the 'khaḍga' (sword), the 'śakti', the snake, the mace, the shield, the axe, the 'kamaṇḍalu', the lotus, the 'abhaya' and the 'varada mudrās' can still be recognised. On each side of the goddess is an eight-armed male figure showing symbols like the 'vajra', the goad and the noose. A few years back the present writer identified this sculpture as representing a multi-armed form of the famous Jaina yakṣī Ambikā, and the 'āmralumbi' (bunch of mangoes), an invariable symbol of Ambikā, was then supposed to have been mutilated.³⁰² But the absence of her two sons, one on her lap, and the other by her side could not be properly accounted for and the two six-armed male figures standing by her side were supposed to represent her sons (transformed as celestial beings with six hands each !). But it seems that the figure can be more easily recognised as the Mahā-vidyā Mahāmānāsī. Like Ambikā, Vidyādevī figures are very popular in the carvings of the Vimāla vasahī and the shrines at Kumbhāriā. Of the four multi-armed goddesses in the Vimāla vasahī, two are already recognised as Mahā-vidyās while the third is Sarasvatī. Again, the sword and the shield symbols found with the four-armed Mahāmānāsī from the same temple are still visible in the hands of this figure. And the lion is also the vāhana of Mahāmānāsī. Hence it is better to recognise this figure as the sixteenth Śvetāmbara Mahāvidyā Mahāmānāsī.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing account it will be possible to demonstrate the popularity of the Vidyādevīs in Jaina Tāntric worship. The references to ancient texts show that the Vidyādevīs and some of the sixteen Mahā-vidyās were of no recent origin, and that they received homage at the hands of the Jaina authors since very early times. Besides the texts, the images of the Mahāvidyās also testify that temple architecture was not considered complete without a representation of the whole group of the sixteen Vidyādevīs, as in the temples at Dilwārā, Kumbhāriā and other places. The Vidyādevīs were a favourite subject for painters to

illustrate and beautify with miniatures the religious manuscripts of the Jaina laity. Loose sculptures moreover of individual Vidyādevīs, scattered all over the country, amidst Jaina temples, ancient or modern, or amidst sites now in ruins, show the importance and popularity of these Mahāvidyās.

It is true that many of the forms of the Vidyādevīs are known from Jaina texts, although it has not been possible to illustrate them all with archaeological specimens or ancient miniatures.

It is difficult to recognise Vidyādevīs of the Digambara pantheon. The chief reason is that in most cases the names of the Digambara yakṣiṇīs are identical with those of the sixteen Mahāvidyās. Therefore, to prevent confusion, an attempt is here made to distinguish between the yakṣiṇīs and the vidyādevīs but a fuller discussion has to be reserved for a paper on the iconography of the twenty-four yakṣiṇīs.

Even in the Śvetāmbata pantheon such difficulties are not unknown. For instance, it is difficult to distinguish between the Cakreśvarī yakṣī and the Apraticakrā vidyā, in loose sculptures. In such cases, the age of the sculptures as well as their provenance should also be taken into consideration.

It may be noted here that the Nirvāṇakalikā (Śve.) describes a special 'mudrā' for each of the sixteen Mahā-vidyās. Possibly the particular 'mudrā' is to be used for the sādhana of the vidyādevī associated with it. These mudrās, it may be presumed, suggest the chief recognition symbols of the sixteen Mahā-vidyās. In the order of the vidyādevīs treated here, they are : 1. 'Śaṅkha-mudrā', 2. 'Śakti-mudrā', 3. 'Śrīkhalā-mudrā', 4. 'Vajra-mu.', 5. 'Cakra-mu.', 6. 'Padma-mu.', 7. 'Gadā-mu.', 8. 'Ghaṇṭā-mu.', 9. 'Kamaṇḍalu-mu.', 10. 'Paraśu-mu.', 11. 'Paraśu-mu.', (of another mode), 12. 'Vṛkṣa-mu.', 13. 'Sarpa-mu.', 14. 'Khaḍga-mu.', 15. 'Jvalana-mu.', 16. 'Śrī-Maṇi-mudrā'.²⁰¹

Vidyas are specially connected with supernatural cognition and magical powers, that is, they are mainly Tāntric deities. The special mudrās noted above demonstrate their Tāntric character. The Mahā-vidyās are worshipped in various Tāntric 'maṇḍalas' (diagrams) like the 'Sarvatobhadra-yantra', the 'Cintāmaṇi-Pārsvanātha-yantra', the 'Mantrā-dhirāja-yantra', the 'Adbhūta-Padmāvatī-yantra', the 'Sārasvata-yantras'

prescribed by Bappabhaṭṭī, Śubhacandra and others, the 'Sūri-mantra' diagram, etc.²⁰⁴

Besides the sixteen Mahā-vidyās and some of the minor vidyās noted before, there are certain other Tāntric vidyās which are both ancient and popular. The Varddhamāna vidyā and the Śrutadevatā-vidyā are referred to in the Mahānīśītha sūtra. Four ancient goddesses, namely, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā or Jayantā and Aparājītā are invoked in this vidyā, along with another goddess called Anihatā. These four goddesses are again worshipped in the third 'sthāna' called 'Vidyā-pada' of the 'Sūri-vidyā' ('Sūri-mantra') diagram together with 'Nandā', 'Bhaddā', 'Śrī' and 'Sāmanniā' (?). It seems that these four goddesses beginning with Jayā were very popular vidyās amongst the Jains in ancient times. In the first 'pīṭha' or 'prasthāna' of this 'Sūri-vidyā' are invoked eight vidyās, namely, 'Sarasvatī', 'Rogāpahāriṇī', 'Viṣāpahāriṇī', 'Bandhamokṣaṇī', 'Śrī-Sampādinī', 'Para-vidyā-chedinī', 'Doṣanirnāśinī' and 'Aśivopaśamani'. In the second 'pīṭha' are worshipped three vidyās amongst whom is one 'Bāhubali-vidyā'. The sixteen Mahā-vidyās, the different yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs, Indras and others are invoked in the fifth and the last 'pīṭha'.

A very large number of vidyās are known to Jain literature, especially the Purāṇas and Kathā-kośas. Of these a reference may be made to works like the Tilaka-mañjarī, Kuvalaya-mālā of Udyotana, Nāyakumārācariu, Karakaṇḍācariu, Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta, Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena, Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra, Kathākośa of Hariṣena, Kathākośa of Devabhadra, Triṣaṣṭī-śālākā-puruṣacaritra of Hemacandra and such other works.

Vidyās are often described as shining like lightning, donning divine garments and adorned with various ornaments. According to the Ādipurāṇa, vidyās are acquired in two ways, either through kula (family and caste), that is, by inheritance or through personal efforts and austerities. According to the Uttarapurāṇa, the 'Nāga-vidyās' are described in the Vidyānupravāda-pūrva (now lost) and the use of these vidyās on Jina images is expressly prohibited.²⁰⁵

It may also be noted that Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jina, regarded as a historical figure, is very closely associated with various Tāntric practices and deities. It will not be unnatural to suppose that belief in

some of the Tāntric deities was introduced in Jainism in the age of Pārśvanātha.²⁰⁰

The vidyās are supposed to have great magical powers. Prajñapti, for example, was invoked for change of form, while Jvālīnī is said to overpower the antagonist in religious disputes. The sixteen Mahāvidyās are said to propagate Jaina faith and adore the Tīrthaṅkaras.²⁰⁷ It would however be incorrect to regard them as 'Goddesses of Learning.' It would also be incorrect to regard Sarasvatī or Śrutadevatā of the Jainas as 'the head of the collective body of the sixteen vidyādevīs.'²⁰⁹

The Jaina Tantra, with its long past, invoked, at a later stage, a deity called Vidyā-deha, the deity 'par excellence' of all knowledge. Four-faced and of a pleasing countenance, accompanied by 'Jñāna-śakti' and seated in the padmāsana, he is to be accompanied by the eight Prātihāryas and the twelve Gaṇas. The four faces immediately remind one of the Hindu god Brahmā, while the eight Prātihāryas and the twelve Gaṇas show that he is no other than the Tīrthaṅkara preaching knowledge in the Samavasaraṇa (assembly erected by the gods).²¹⁰

NOTES

1. 'Pipḍaniryukti' quoted in 'Abhidhāna Rājendra', VI. p. 23. 'Pañcāśaka' of Haribhadra, 13. 19. cf. Abhayadeva's commentary on Aupapātika Sūtra 16.
2. The twelfth Aṅga text, composed by Gaṇadhara, now totally lost, contained fourteen 'pūrva'-texts, one of which was the 'Vidyānupravāda-pūrva' dealing with a number of powerful vidyās and their sādhanas. M. D. Desai, 'History of Jain Literature' (in Gujarati), pp. 27ff.
3. For a fuller account of the early history of the Jain Tantra, see 'A Peep into the Early History of Tantra in Jain Literature', 'Bhārata Kaumudī', II. pp. 839ff.
4. 'Aupapātika sūtra', 16. and commentary of Abhayadeva. 'Uttarādhyayana', XV. 7-8; commentary on XXIV. 12. 'Pipḍaniryukti', 499. 'Sūtrakṛtāṅga', 2. 2. 15. 'Nāy dhammakahāṇo' (Vaidya's ed.), XVI. 129, p. 189; XVIII. 141, p. 209; XIV. 104, p. 152; I. 4. p. 1.
5. 'Sthānāṅga', 8. 3. sūtra 611; also 'Vipāka', I. 7. p. 74. 'Sthānāṅga', 9. 3. 678 and the commentary of Abhayadeva. Also see 'Paumacariyam', 7. 142 for Mātaṅga vidyā.
6. 'Mahānīś' (iṭha sutta) (Ms. no. 165, B. O. R. I.) folios 17, 45-46. 'JISOA', IX. pp. 50-51.
7. 'Sūtrakṛtāṅga', 2. 2. 15.
8. 'Samavāyāṅga', sūtra 29, pp. 48-49.
9. 'Daśavaikālika', I. Quoted by Malayagiri in his comm. on 'Vyavahārasūtra', 'Pīṭhikā', p. 23. Also 'Nīś' (iṭha Bhāṣya), 'Pīṭhikā', v. 83, and pp. 8-9.
10. 'Nīś' (iṭha), uddeśa XVI. 'Bhāṣya' v. 63.
11. 'Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya', uddeśa I. v. 2508 and comm. According to Muni Puṇyavijaya, Saṃghadāsa gṛhi, the author of 'Bṛhat-Kalpa Bhāṣya' is earlier in age than Saṃghadāsa II, the author of Vasudevahiṇḍī.
12. 'Triṣaṣṭī śālākā-puruṣa-caritam', I. 3. 124-226. The Pāṇḍukās and Śvapākas are called Paṭukās and Samakās by Jinadāsa.
13. 'Āvaśyaka cūṛpī', I. pp. 161-162.
14. Haribhadra's Vṛtti on 'Āvaśyaka Niryukti', I. v. 317, pp. 143-144.
15. 'Vasudevahiṇḍī', I. part. 1, pp. 163-164.
16. Ibid., part 2, appendix 4, section 74 gives a list of vidyās referred to in both the parts.
17. 'Paumacariyam', 7. vv. 185ff, pp. 41-42; 66. pp. 223-24; 59. v. 84, p. 7. vv. 107-108.
18. 'Padmacaritam' of Raviṣeka, 7. vv. 323ff; 69. w. 9-10; 67. v. 6.
19. 'Harivamśa', 22. vv. 56-60.
20. Ibid., 26. vv. 1-24.
21. Ibid., 23. vv. 61-66.
22. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi' of Hemacandra (Śva.), 2. 152-154; 'Pratijñāsāroddhāra' of Aśādharma (Dig.), p. 56, vv. 33-36.
23. 'Jinasamhitā-sāra-saṃgraha', of Indranandi (incomplete ms. in the Ailaka Pannālā Digambara Jain Bhāṇḍāra, Bombay) folio 81.
24. 'Ādipurāṇa', ch. 18, ch. 19; ch. 47. v. 255; 'Uttarapurāṇa', 68. vv. 513-14; 72. 128.
25. For Tijayapahutta, see, 'Mahāprabhāvika Navasmarāṇa', pp. 255-271. For Pārśvanātha-stotra of Śivanāga, see, 'Mantrādhirāja-Cintāmaṇi', pp. 70-87.
26. 'Caupannamahāpuruṣacariyam', Ms. no 759, Hamsavijaya collection, Baroda, folio 68. Even Bhadrēśvara (c. 1100 A. D.) maintained this older tradition in his Kahāvālī (Ms. Hamsavijaya, folio 17a).
27. 'Caturvīṃśatikā' of Bappabhaṭṭī and 'Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā' of Śobhana muni, both edited by Prof. Kapadia, Surat.
28. The reader is requested to refer to Muni Jayantavijaya's two volumes on Abu (in Gujarati) published in Śrī-Vijayadharma-sūri-Jaina-Granthamālā, nos 10, and 40. The 'bhāva' numbers referred to in the following pages are according to the scheme adopted by Jayantavijaya in the first part.

29. Ms. no. 1155, Upādhyāya Viravijaya collection, Jaina Bhāṇḍāra, Chāṇī, containing seven works in one group. They are : 'Ogha-niryukt' (folios 1-83), 'Pipda-niryukti' (folios 84-132), 'Daśavatkā-likā folio 133-173), 'Pakkhi and Khāmapā sūtras' (174-191), 'Śramapa sūtra' (192-197), 'Yati-dina-caryā' (198-227). The miniatures were first published by Sarabhai Nawab (in 'Jaina Citra-kalpa-druma') who wrote that the manuscript was copied in V. S. 1218.
30. Hemacandra, gloss on 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', 2. p. 109.
31. The view, expressed in 'Jain Iconography', p. 166, that the goddess presides over the art of music according to Śvetāmbara texts is untenable ; the 'Ācārādinakara' merely calls her "one whose great prowess is lauded everywhere".
32. 'Caturvīṃśatikā' of Bappabhaṭṭi, verse 12, pp. 25-26.
33. 'Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā', of Śobhana muni, verse 16, p. 74 ; v. 52, p. 171. Śobhana merely refers to the bow and the rosary. Obviously, the arrow symbol is understood. I have therefore, regarded this verse as giving a four-armed variety. Her victory over enemies is emphasised by both Bappabhaṭṭi and Śobhana.
34. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 37. The work was composed by Pādalipta sūri in c. 11th century A. D. see JUB. IX. 2. p. 159, n. 6.
35. 'Ācārādinakara', II. p. 162. The work was composed by Varddhamaṇa sūri in 1468 V. S. (1411 A. D.).
36. The text is published in 'Mantrādhiraṇja-Cintāmaṇi', edited by Nawab, pp. 227-238. The date of composition of the work is uncertain, see JUB. IX. 2. p. 16 note 2. 'Mantrādhiraṇja kalpa, paṭala 3, v. 3.
37. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', p. 284. The work was composed by Nemisandra in the sixteenth century A. D.
38. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra' of Āśāddhara (13th cent. A. D.), p. 54. verse 37.
39. 'Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā' (Ms. B. O. R. I., no. 192) of Śubhacandra.
40. Dated in A. D. 1070. See Sankalia, 'Jain Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇis', fig. 7, 'Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute', I. 2-4.
41. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 18.
42. 'Pañcāsaka', ch. 19. verse 24.
43. 'Vasudevahiṇḍi', I. part 1, pp. 163-64.
44. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
45. For the iconographic peculiarities of different Jaina Yakṣiṇis discussed in this paper, see 'Jaina Iconography' by B. C. Bhattacharya
46. 'Ācārādinakara', II. p. 162.
47. 'Stuticaturvīṃśatikā' verse 60, p. 185
48. 'Caturvīṃśatikā', verse 16, p. 32.
49. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra', p. 54, verse 38.
50. 'Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā'.
51. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 37.
52. 'Mantrādhiraṇja-kalpa', paṭala 2, v. 4.
53. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII. pp. 284-85.
54. 'Pratiṣṭhā-sūra samgraha' of Vasunandi (c. 12th century A. D.)
55. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 18.
56. 'Vasudevahiṇḍi', I. 1. p. 97. 'Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya', pūṭhikā, p. 57, 'Āvaśyaka-tīkā', p. 24.
57. 'Ādipurāṇa' of Jinaseṇa II, 18. 11-12.
58. 'Paumcariyam', 7, verses 136ff. Gopinath Rao, 'Elements of Hindu Iconography', I. part 2, pp. 357-58 and appendix p. 147.
59. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.

60. 'Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra', p. 54, verse 39; the text is corrupt.
 61. 'Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā' p. 60, verse 12.
 62. 'Caturvīṃśatikā', verse 20, p. 37.
 63. 'Ācāradīnakara', II. p. 162.
 64. 'Śārasvata-yantra-pūjā'.
 65. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 37.
 66. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', paṭala 3, verse 5.
 67. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII. p. 285. Vasunandi also refers to her four arms but gives the chain symbol only. According to him, the goddess is golden in complexion.
 68. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 18.
 69. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, 'Buddhist Iconography', pp. 111 ff, pl. XXXIV b.
 70. Hemacandra gives the explanation of her title. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', 2. p. 103.
- But the iconography of the goddess supports the explanation given above.
71. 'Caturvīṃśatikā', verse 24, p. 43.
 72. 'Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā', verse 32, p. 121.
 73. Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra, p. 54, v. 40. 'Puṣpa-yāna' is the aerial car of Kubera in the Hindu pantheon. 'Puṣpa-ratha' means a pleasure-car not used for war. Unfortunately no such representation of the goddess with a car is available. It would therefore be advisable to regard a flower (lotus) as her vehicle.
 74. 'Ācāradīnakara', II. p. 162.
 75. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 37.
 76. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', paṭala 3, verse 6.
 77. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII. p. 285.
 78. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 18.
 79. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, op. cit., pp. 39, 124. See Gopinath Rao, 'Elements of Hindu Iconography', I, part 2, p. 361 for Rambhā and p. 385 for Aindrī.
 80. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
 81. 'Ācāradīnakara', II. p. 162.
 82. 'Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā', v. 72, p. 223.
 83. 'Caturvīṃśatikā', verse 23, p. 43.
 84. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 37.
 85. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', paṭala 3, verse 7.
 86. For the iconography of the yakṣī Okaśvārī, see 'Iconography of the Jain Goddesses Okaśvārī' by U. P. Shah which will be published in a subsequent issue of the JISOA.
 87. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 18.
 88. See plate published in 'Jaina-Puṣṭaka-Praśasti-Saṃgraha', Simghī Jaina Series No 18.
 89. Vogel, 'Catalogue of Sculptures in the Curzon Museum, Mathurā', p. 95, pl XVII, fig. no D. 6.
 90. 'Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra', p. 54, v. 41.
 91. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII, pp. 285-86.
 92. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
 93. 'Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā', v. 68, p. 204.
 94. 'Ācāradīnakara', II. p. 162.
 95. 'Caturvīṃśatikā', verse 40, p. 73.
 96. 'Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra', p. 54, verse 42.
 97. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 37.
 98. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', 3. v. 8.
 99. 'Pratiṣṭhātilaka', VII. v. 6, p. 286.
 100. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 18.

101. Haribhadra's commentary on the Āvaśyaka Niryukti, v. 932 p. 411.
102. Gopinath Rao, op. cit., pp. 356 ff. and appendix pp. 114f.
103. 'Anuyogadvāra', sūtra 90, cf. also cūṛpi on this, pp. 24-25. The Anuyogadvāra is said to have been composed by Ārya Rakṣita c. 600 years after Mahāvīra.
104. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
105. 'Caturvimpśatikā', verse 32, p. 54.
106. 'Stuti-Caturvimpśatikā', verse 84, p. 253 ; verse 20 p. 86.
107. 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162, verse 7. The author merely refers to the 'gadā' symbol.
108. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra', p. 55, v. 43.
109. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 37.
110. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', 3, 9.
111. 'Pratiṣṭhātīlaka', VII. p. 286, v. 7.
112. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 18.
113. 'Śikta-pramoda', p. 2. See also Gopinath Rao, 'Elements of Hindu Iconography', I. part 2. pp. 363 and 373 for KĀH ; pp. 357-59 for Mahākālī and Bhadrakālī.
114. 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 267. 'Vidhiprapā', of Jinaprabha sūri (14th cent. A. D.), published in the Simghī Jaina Granthamālā, pp. 116-117.
115. For the text of 'Rajimanḍala yantra' etc., see 'Mahāprabhāvika-Navasmarapa', pp. 509ff. and 'Rajimanḍala-mantra-kalpa', (Dig.) edited by Paṇḍita Manoharalāl Shāstri.
116. 'Pañcśāka', 19, 24.
117. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
118. 'Caturvimpśatikā', v. 44 pp. 77-78. Ibid., v. 63, p. 119 also invokes Mahākālī. (She has curly hair).
119. 'Stuti-Caturvimpśatikā', v. 44. p. 147 ; 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162, v. 8.
120. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 37.
121. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', 3, v. 10.
122. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra', p. 55, v. 44. The text seems to be corrupt.
123. 'Pratiṣṭhātīlaka', VII. pp. 286-7, v. 8.
124. 'Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā'.
125. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 18.
126. See Gopinath Rao, op. cit., p. 358.
127. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
128. 'Caturvimpśatikā', v. 43, p. 87.
129. 'Stuti-Caturvimpśatikā', v. 60, p. 214 ; 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162, v. 9.
130. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra', p. 55, v. 45. 'Pratiṣṭhātīlaka', VII. p. 287, v. 9. 'Sārasvata-yantra-pūjā'.
131. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 37.
132. 'Mantrādhirāja-kalpa', 3, v. 11.
133. Gopinath Rao, op. cit., p. 359 and appendix, p. 119.
- 133a. 'Nirvāpakalikā', p. 18.
134. 'Devatā-mūrti-prakarapa' (Cal. Skt. Series no. XII.), VIII, vv. 1-20. See also Gopinath Rao, op. cit., pp. 260ff. 'Rūpamanḍana' (Cal. Skt. Series no. XII.) V. vv. 1-14.
135. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, op. cit., pp. 146-47.
136. 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi', op. cit.
137. Quoted by Kapadia, 'Stuti-Caturvimpśatikā', p. 95.
138. 'Caturvimpśatikā', v. 52, p. 92.
139. 'Stuti-Caturvimpśatikā', v. 24, p. 96 ; 'Ācāradinakara', II. p. 162, v. 10.
140. 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra', p. 55, v. 46 ; 'Pratiṣṭhātīlaka', VII, p. 287, v. 11 ; Śubhacandra refers to the sword symbol only.

141. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 37.
142. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. 12.
143. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 18.
144. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, op. cit.
145. Jvālino-mata of Yogindra Indranandi, ms. 51/jb, Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah (Bihar).
146. Vasudevahigṇī, I. part 1, pp. 163-64.
147. Ācāradinakara, II. p. 162, v. 11.
148. Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 36, p. 130.
149. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. v. 13.
150. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 287, v. 11.
151. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 55, v. 47.
152. Nirvāṇakalikā p. 13, also see p. 37.
153. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, op. cit., pp. 80-83.
154. Quoted in the Śrī-Tattva-nidhi, p. 10, No. 80.
155. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, op. cit.
156. Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 36, p. 64.
157. Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 40, p. 187. Ācāradinakara. II. p. 162, v. 12.
158. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 55, v. 48.
159. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 33.
160. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. 14.
161. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 288, v. 12.
162. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 13.
163. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, op. cit.
164. By Bappabhaṭṭī sūri. Śobhana addresses her as Abhināgrya patni which is explained by Dhanapāla and another commentator as chief queen of Dharapendra, namely, Vairoṇyā, see Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 92, pp. 275f.
165. Bhagavati sūtra, śataka 10, uddeśa 5, sūtra 406 gives the six names of the chief queens of Dharapendra. The names given in Sthānāṅga sūtra, p. 361, are slightly different.
166. Vairoṇyā-devī-stava published in Jaina Stotra Sandoha, I. pp. 347ff.
167. Prabandha-kośa of Rājasekhara sūri (composed in 1405 V. S. or 1349 A. D.) edited by Kapadia, prabandha no. 3. Prabhāvaka-caritra of Prabhācandra (1334 V. S.). edited by Jinavijaya, Śiṅghī Jaina Granthamālā, no. 10.
168. Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 8, Also ibid., v. 72, p. 124.
169. Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 92, p. 276.
170. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 38.
171. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3, v. 15.
172. Indian Historical Quarterly, XIV. 3. pp. 425 ff. and plate. From the original plate, I find that the fourth hand is not empty as thought by the late Dr. Shastri.
173. Ācāradinakara, II. p. 163, v. 13.
174. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 288, v. 13. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 55, v. 49. The Digambara texts call her Vairoṇī.
175. Jain Antiquary, IV. 3. pp. 85-88. I am thankful to Rev. H. Heras for kindly allowing me to take a photograph of this bronze.
176. Nirvāṇakalikā, p. 13.
177. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, op. cit.
178. Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 84, p. 188.
179. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 288, v. 14 ; Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 55, v. 50.
180. Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 56, p. 179.

181. Ācāradinakara, II. p. 163, v. 14. Also see *ibid.* II. p. 161 where she is called Acyutā.
182. Nirvāpakalikā, p. 38.
183. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. 16.
184. Nirvāpakalikā, p. 18.
185. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, *op. cit.*
186. Ācāradinakara, II. p. 163, v. 15.
187. Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 8, p. 44.
188. Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 56, p. 100.
189. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. 17.
190. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 53, v. 51. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 289, v. 15.
191. Nirvāpakalikā, p. 38.
192. Nirvāpakalikā, p. 18.
193. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, *op. cit.*
194. Stuti-Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 2, p. 105.
195. Caturvīṃśatikā, v. 50, p. 106.
196. Nirvāpakalikā, p. 38.
197. Mantrādhirāja-kalpa, 3. 18.
198. Ācāradinakara, II. p. 163, v. 16.
199. Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 289, v. 16. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 56, v. 52. Śubhacandra omits the fourth symbol of varada mudrā : Śārasvata-yantra-pūjā.
200. Pratiṣṭhā-sūtra-maṅgraha.
201. Nirvāpakalikā, p. 18.
202. Journal of the University of Bombay, IX, 2. p. 162, fig. 26.
203. Nirvāpakalikā, p. 32. On p. 4 however, where only the names of such mudrās are given this text gives the muṣala as the mudrā of Gaūrī. The mantras for all sixteen Bīṣā-vidyās are also given on pp. 3-4.
204. For the various maṇḍalas see Mantrādhirāja-cintāmaṇi, Mahā-prabhāvika-Navaśataṅga and the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa, all edited by Nawab : the Sūrimantra published by Prīṭivījaya, in three parts.
205. Triṣaṇṭī, V. 2 : 92-93 ; Ādipurāṇa, 18. 135. ; Uttarapurāṇa, 67. v. 51.
206. Supernatural Beings in the Jaina Tantra, Ācārya Dhruva Smāraka Grantha, part III, pp. 82ff.
207. Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 120, v. 11 ; Pratiṣṭhātilaka, VII. p. 283.
208. cf. 'Jaina Iconography', B. C. Bhattacarya, p. 163.
209. Nirvāpakalikā, p. 3.

Illustrations

- Pl. XIII. 1. Robitī (Chāpī).
2. Prajñaptī (Vimala Vasahī).
3. Vajrasrūkkhālā (Vimala Vasahī).
4. Vajrāṅkuśī (Vimala Vasahī).
- Pl. XIV. 5. Cakreśvarī (Lūpa Vasahī)
6. Naraḍatī (Chāpī).
7. Kālī (Lūpa Vasahī).
8. Mahā kālī (Pātan).

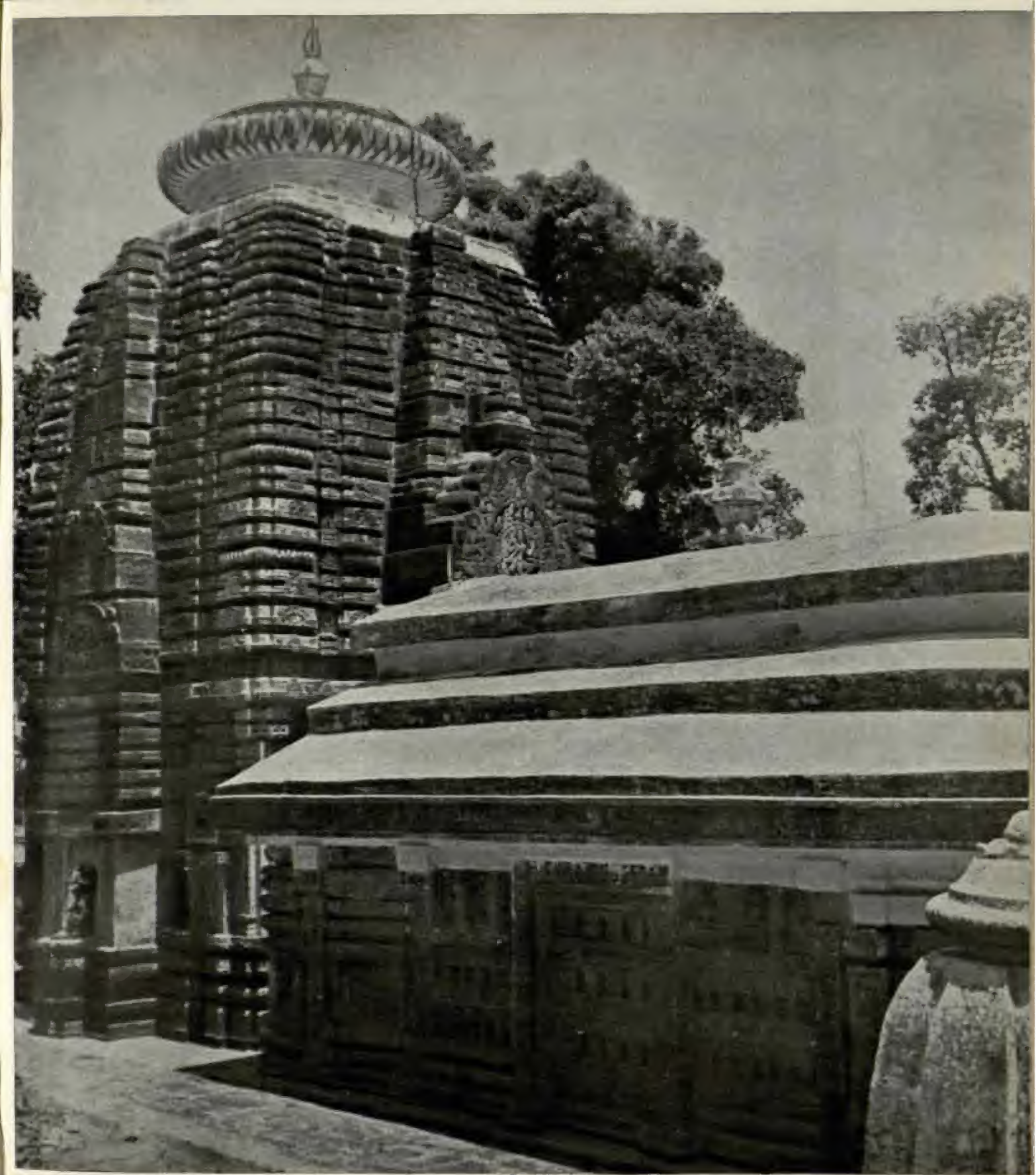
- Pl. XV. 9. Gaurī (Lūpa Vasahī).
 10. Gāndhārī (Chāpī).
 11. Mahāśrī (Vimala Vasahī).
 12. Manavī (Chāpī).
 Pl. XVI. 13. Vairoṭṭā (Lūpa Vasahī).
 14. Acyutā (Vimala Vasahī).
 15. Manasī (Lūpa Vasahī).
 16. Mahāmānasī (Vimala Vasahī).

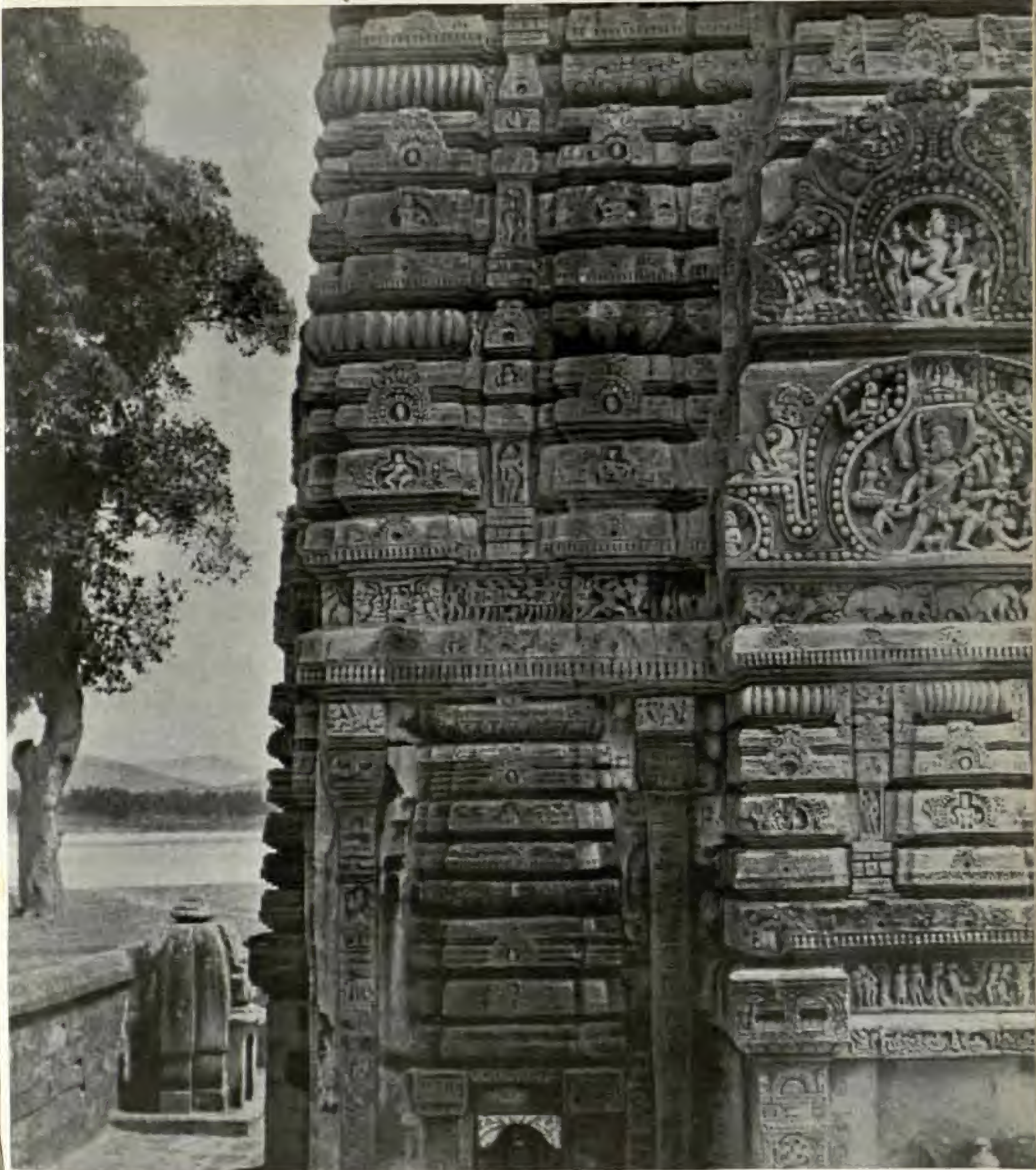
THE WALLS OF ORISSAN TEMPLES

by STELLA KRAMRISCH

Nature of temple wall : plain or carved. Orissan architecture and its sculpture, for over half a millennium, represent one local branch of the tradition of temple building practised in India from the Himalaya in the north to the Tungabhadra in the south. The carved stones of the temple are part of its form although not all the temples have their surfaces carved. On some temples they are plain and the image in the central niche of the walls, in the cardinal direction, is the only sculpture. There is no middle way ; the walls are either plain as a whole or they are carved as a whole. There is neither statuary nor architectural sculpture in the accepted sense ; the texture of the walls is either plain or carved. In these two varieties the temple walls are set up from the eighth to the thirteenth century. The earliest extant temples are not the beginning of the style. They show it compact and replete with the themes which were elaborated subsequently. It is homogeneous ; the organic logic of its form leads to synthetic expositions at different stages, from the tenth century onward. It was then also that new elements became incorporated in the form of Orissan architecture and sculpture. They were assimilated from the more western branches of the tradition as practised in the Central Provinces and Central India.

Texture of the carved wall : Outward movement of buttresses ; inward movement of relief ground. The reliefs of the early extant temples of which the Paraśurāmeśvar in Bhuvaneśvar is the most perfect, are in the nature of an incrustation. Whether they are framed or not, they closely adhere to the ground which, as a rule, exceeds them laterally, being the surface of the moulding to which they belong (cf. Pl. XVIII). Some of these flat reliefs have, more often than not, another ground, at one remove from the main ground against which are displayed the larger figures.





Smaller carvings, such as the heads looking out from round windows, and the window openings themselves lead further into depth by means of stepped surfaces narrowing ring-like ; they harbour a deepening darkness. The relief cut into the stone on several planes is the sculptural correspondence, of necessity in the opposite direction, to the architectural progression of the buttresses from the straight or curved walls whence they project and draw with them, as it were, the deep shadows in the interjacent recesses.

Supersession of architectural organisation by one relief theme. The double movement of masses and shadows, architectural and sculptural, interknits the thickness of the several projections of the wall. The sculptural units on the one hand are a part only of the extent of the respective architectural units and this would have been the original context. The architectural units, on the other hand, each serving as the ground of the relief are, moreover, also connected by their reliefs where one carved theme extends over two, three and more architectural units and ties them together (Pl. XVIII). Below this connecting relief the faces of the architectural units are plain, variously moulded or stepped. They, in turn, may also be carved in a lower relief. So the major relief may extend over several architectural units which serve as its ground and appear united into one larger theme by their dominant relief. In its effect it relies partly on the further receding planes cut, as in the opening of the 'windows', perpendicularly into the stone, and, being partly carved 'in the round', it also bridges the gaps or neckings between the architectural units whose straight or curved surfaces may themselves be enriched by reliefs.

This intricate texture of the carved wall results in patterns of light and shade. They are outlined by the deepest shadows. These run in grooves vertically between the buttresses of the wall and their extensions on the curved planes of the superstructure ; and horizontally between the single architectural units each of which is a prismatic shape and suggests a roof or storey of the temple. At the corners of the superstructure, the square Amalaka compresses deep shadows within its vertical blades and screws together, as it were, the manifold units of the superstructure (*Siṃhanātha Temple, Baramba, Pl. XVIII*).

None of the sculptures is architectural in the accepted sense for none enhances by its effect the function of that part which it decorates; ¹ none of the carvings moreover is merely decorative for each has its meaning at its proper place and is an image or symbol. The architectural unit moreover is but an architectural symbol and does not function as roof, storey, or the like for the Śikhara is a monument piled up by trabeation; its buttresses are progressions from the centre in a symbolic capacity; they do not carry the impact of the mass. Terms and forms of architecture are here part of an architectural symbolism, and sculpture, as far as it represents one or the other known thing, such as a window or the shape of man, is but an incrustation on the total shape full of meaning and at the same time its exposition.

The wall as a three-dimensional integument. The closely knit integument forming the outer wall of an Orissan temple consists of stereometric shapes, recesses and the dark shade within them; their relief planes cohere with a fierce compulsion. At the phase represented by the Paraśurāmeśvar Temple the mouldings are nearly prismatic; the cyma of their curved front planes but little recedes from a fillet below and is noticeable in the slightly vacillating curve of the vertical edge of each of the 'roof shapes'. The total appearance of the vertical recess or shadow line thus formed is flexible and ascends like a spinal cord. According to the number of its buttresses, the curved Śikhara has more than one such chase on each of its faces. The wall of the Orissan temples is a three dimensional substance replete with an interknit movement based on small, repetitive units up and downwards, laterally, backwards and forwards, of solids and voids with their darkness. While this is true also of other types of mediaeval Indian temples, the departure from the straight or convex plane of wall and Śikhara cannot elsewhere be retraced as clearly nor can it be followed, step by step, to the stage of the furthestmost bastion-like progressions of the wall. This elaboration of the wall is

1. Decoration as a mere embellishment exists only by contrast with, and as a supplement to, naturalistic art.



not tectonic, it also does not cover the wall as if it were by a screen of tracery or glazed tiles. The wall as an articulate integument bodied forth on the outside of the temples is a monumental equivalent to the modelling of the images. There, the gradation of planes holds the subtle body of divinity and makes it manifest. The temple also is the "body of God".

Its form is an elaboration of the theme of the progression from the centre; it is a raiment whose texture adheres to the presence within and clothes it. It is a specifically Indian fabric of monumental substance impregnated with the meaning by which it is formed. The history of this form is at the same time its ontology.

History (ontology) of the wall: (1) 'Uttareśvar'. The Uttareśvar temple—(prior to its restoration)—in Bhuvaneśvar, showed its stumpy Śikhara without carvings, furrowed horizontally by the lines of dark shadows between the fillets and mouldings representing its storeys. They continued across a narrow buttress curved parallel with the face of the Śikhara, in the middle of each of its sides, in the cardinal direction. The Baramba Temple, more elaborated even than the Paraśurāmeśvar, yet presents this salient feature.

(2) 'Paraśurāmeśvar'. On the Śikhara of the Paraśurāmeśvar the curved plane has five projections of equal height, the one in the centre being the broadest and all of them are bound, as it were, at the base by one continuous cornice of the same depth; below this cornice is a deep recess indicating the ground of the 'relief of the temple wall'. It is itself, once more, full of reliefs. Below, another similar cornice gives the height of projection of the niches and mouldings of the wall. This is the fundamental disposition of the relief of the wall. It is not the only one for it is exceeded by another salient relief-plane which projects from the broad central buttress of the Śikhara whereas on the perpendicular wall of the temple its high projection is directly from it.

This central buttress of the Śikhara with its furthestmost projected offset in the middle is carved on several distinct planes, each complete in its effect; the lower set of co-ordinated reliefs having their themes laid out in the horizontal whereas the topmost or

superimposed reliefs have their themes connected in the vertical direction; they act as tentacles and bind together vertically their horizontal substratum of carved mouldings and recesses.

The central buttress of the Śikhara, a double relief twice over, effective on four major, and some further, subordinated, planes has its counter-weight near the corners of the Śikhara where the recess between the two lateral offsets is broader than the deep shadow groove on either side of the central buttress. The interval between the lateral buttresses is carved to half its depth, where a new set of planes is introduced, placed back from its lateral buttresses whence it is divided by a thin vertical chase whose ground, in fact, is the ultimate ground of the entire display. The reliefs of the vertical grooves establish their themes vertically; these are miniature temples resting on a double, high plinth, their image is flanked by pillars, their storied, curvilinear superstructure is overspun by reliefs as rich in detail and planes as are those of the topmost central buttress. The verticality of the miniature shrines is reinforced by pillar shapes carved on either side of their superstructure in support, as it were, of the recessed cornice moulding which is part of the horizontal articulation of the Śikhara and projects as one of the storeys on each of the buttresses. By this link the miniature temples of the vertical chase are coordinated with the repetitive rhythms of the buttresses.

Each of the four curved sides of the Śikhara consists of several planes, each with its relief interknit once more on different levels. Similar and also contrasting themes are co-ordinated throughout the thickness of the wall which thus consists of buttresses and chases of various depths, an interplay of correlated levels whose repetitive themes are impressed on each unit or group of units, each being clearly demarcated from the other. The demarcation in the main is effected by the shadows in vertical chases and horizontal recesses, reducing the variously projected units (i. e. the 'roof shapes' or cornice mouldings superadded on each buttress)—to the appearance of rectangles suspended in the air and forming part of the texture of the wall and its weightless thickness. The demarcation moreover of the reliefs on these rectangular units is curved and beaded. With



its semi-circle, broad oval or trefoil shape, in which dwell images and darkness, it punctuates and fixes each unit in its place.

The multiple units on different levels are synchronised, their symbol shapes in repetitive rhythms on parallel planes are interknit by means of dark shadows which transfix the units by various dot-shapes and connect them by the long and intersecting vertical and horizontal dark lines of shadow.

The walls, in as much as they consist of buttresses projecting to various heights have an impact which is greatest in the centre of each side, in the cardinal direction. With all this impact in the outward and horizontal directions their bulk does not suggest a corresponding weight for the shape of the Śikhara is slit at regular intervals and furrowed by deep shadows. The transformation of the temple walls into a stereometry traversed by spaces full of darkness establishes an architectural quality of weightlessness. The units seem as if let down in chains, suspended from the top.

(3) 'Baramba'. At the stage of the Paraśurāmeśvar, each unit has its prismatic integrity. Each single "roof shape" is marked by its trefoil dormer window. Only on the central and highest buttress roof shapes, mouldings and fillets are coalesced.

The temple in Baramba¹, compared with the Paraśurāmeśvar temple of Bhuvaneśvar shows the units in a state of assimilation and coalescence, as if they wear melting (Pl. XVIII). They have lost their edges and clear outline; while their roof shapes are subdivided, more pronouncedly than on the Paraśurāmeśvar temple, into a fillet below having its own baluster pattern and the roof shape above, the steps by which these roofs are made to project are now more clearly visible than on the Paraśurāmeśvar temple where they lie hidden in the darkness of their horizontal recess; these steps, broadening towards the top, act as a console for the roof unit; each roof unit moreover is further developed, forming, alike to the central buttress, a similar progression from its broader and underlying buttress which exceeds laterally and winglike, the higher offset

1. The Raja of Baramba allowed Sri P. Neogy to take the photographs reproduced on Pls. XVII-XIX.

and repeats, on a lower level, the broken curve of its outlines. Not enough however of this differentiation ; the rooflets themselves are now not uniform. While two subsequent courses will have the shape described above, the next two courses will have each the shape of a stepped or fluted torus and those which continue the square Amalaka at the corners are altogether of the shape of consoles, their lower part broadened outward and upward in the shape of a full blown lotus, their upper part its crowning fillet.

The neat stereometry of the Paraśurāmeśvar appears here softened, angles and edges blunted, contrasts converted into transitions. The single unit is still marked by its relief but more generally two units are contracted by their relief ; the intervening recess is now not a dividing furrow but forms part of their volume which emerges as console or torus shape carrying its shadows or darkness to the surface of the buttress. To this continuity of modulated shapes corresponds also a continuity of the relief ; the recess, dividing the walls of the temple from the Śikhara is now replete with long panels of figures forming a frieze whereas on the Paraśurāmeśvar temple small rectangular compositions were added horizontally.

With the introduction of varied shapes in the superimposed mouldings or storeys their number too increases between each two of the corner Amalakas forming one complex unit. Along its height now extend the miniature temples in the recess ; their superstructure having been increased by one course or storey, their base trebly subdivided ; their pillars lengthened. Slender and elegant they house an image of equal grace and, what is more, two corresponding angels, in lieu of the pillars of the upper floor of the Paraśurāmeśvar miniature temples are postured to either side of their superstructure on the wing of the adjacent miniature temple roof shape. The contrasts, horizontally, of light, shade and straight cut shapes are not only softened ; the images of the celestials are embodiments of mediating suppleness.

Into this mellow context of transitions are fitted not only the curvilinear, beaded and extravagantly twisted 'Gavākṣa' compositions of the Śikhara ; some of the short and terse rectangular relief themes also have their place on the perpendicular walls, strung vertically in the shapes of high pilasters with their capitals, or framing the larger image



as that of Agni (Pl. XIX).¹ These small panels persist on the temples of Orissa whereas the frameless, small and compact carvings were destined to lose their rectilinear definition ; in future they form small groups supported on consoles and fillets (Pl. XVIII).

With all the contractions and differentiating summing up, the Baramba temple preserves the disconnectedness in the vertical, of the lateral projections of the wall and on the Śikhara, although the central 'ratha' had been given its high extension from the outset (Uttareśvar temple, Bhuvaneśvar). The unification of the lateral themes on wall and Śikhara is complete on the Mukteśvar Temple, Bhuvaneśvar. There also the original lack of correlation of the buildings of hall and temple is transformed into a unit of contrasting shapes, the lesser moreover having become assimilated to the higher, by giving to the stepped pyramid of its roof shape a curved outline, differing from that of the superstructure of the temple but tuned in the same key. Such an assimilation was outside the range of the Baramba temple's architect. The structure of the hall is reminiscent of a log house ; its walls do not correspond with those of the temple proper as they do in the fully evolved style. The clerestory roof however has now three sloped stages and ascends towards the pyramidal shape which it was to have at a subsequent age.

"*Folk art*". The reliefs of the Simhanātha temple are similar in form to those on temples in Bhuvaneśvar where they are not more intimately part of Eastern Indian folk art. It had also contributed much of its immediacy and assurance to the earlier temples of Bhuvaneśvar. The family of East Indian folk art represented by the Baramba reliefs, like that of Agni and its frame (Pl. XIX) extends from Pahārpur in North Bengal to Muhkaliṅgam in Ganjam. The relief of Agni on his ram (Pl. XIX) is uncanny with leisured movement conveying elemental power ; great sculptural knowledge is abbreviated, the edges are smoothed, the design is facile and blunt and yet charged with demoniac realisation. The panels on top, forming part of the frame of Agni's niche, have their counterparts in scroll paintings from Bengal (JISOA, Vol. XIII, Pl. X.) of the mid-nineteenth century when, with a similarly impassioned ease, fighting

1. Coats of whitewash blur and coarsen the carving. This misuse may be a superstition based on the practise of coating the buildings with 'vajralepa'.

demons triumph whether shown vanquished or not, in the zest of the design which gives them existence.

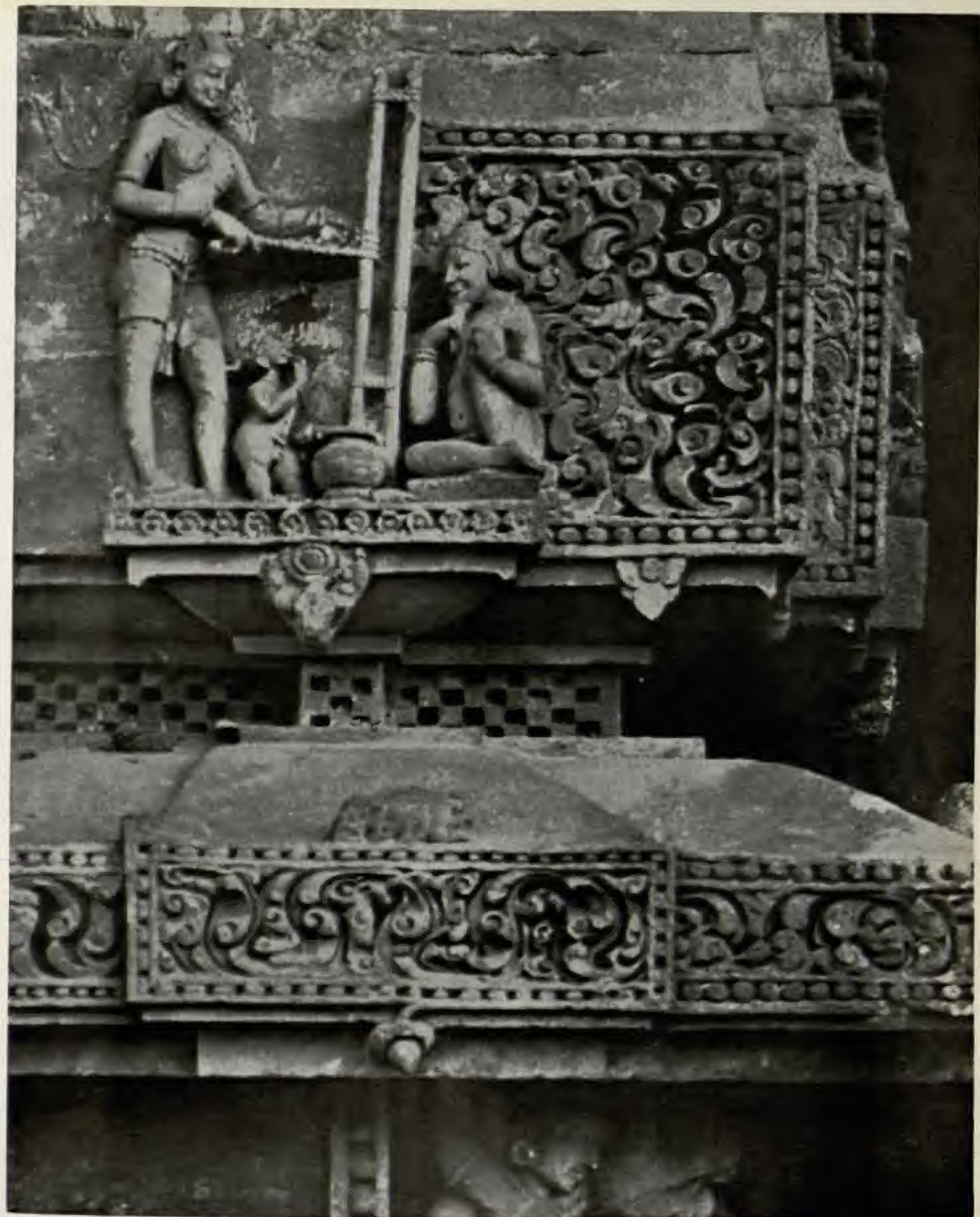
"Gupta" Style and Orissan idiom. Of less relevance are the broadened versions of the ubiquitous Gupta heritage of creepers and their spirits (Kalpalatā, Pl. XIX); here the idiom is that of a patois lacking in form and the way how the various horizontal and vertical themes are joined is insensitive. The Orissan idiom of sculpture, more than that of any other medieval Indian school, adheres to the surface, each panel to its place, each image to its ground; the various panels may occupy different levels (Pl. XIX) or, one relief plane serves as the ground of another relief or of the higher level of the same carved theme (Pl. XXIII). As in its monumental conception so also in the single reliefs the different planes remain intact, the effect is in their interplay and not in their coalescence. Where this comes about, from the eleventh century, also other factors show that Orissan sculpture faced towards central India. Before this was given effect, its strength is in the display of broad masses in planes. The modelling and vigour of the shapes is condensed in their outer limits. The broad shoulder for example (Pl. XX) is the globular joint of the figure and its movement; its lateral distortion is thrice repeated as plastic accent in a group of three male dancers forming a perforated window.¹

In this and similar varieties of the perforated relief the pure form of Orissan sculpture has reached its climax.

Kapilesvar window : Pure Orissan form of Sculpture (10th century). The dark ground of the 'relief', i.e. of the window, is the interior space of the building, the hall; its effect, seen from the outside, is the same as that of 'solid windows', niches and recesses on the sanctuary itself. In this particular window (Pl. XX), which is the middle panel only of the whole window, the plane of the ground is discretely visible as a rectangular network of stone in front of which cross the sculptural rhythms; movement and counter-movements meet in swaying heads and stepping feet, so that a threefold vertical is established, also in the figured part,

1. cf. the entire window. Fig. 319 in : Kramrich, 'Die Indische Kunst', Springer, 'Kunst-geschichte', Vol. VI.





the two horizontal bars underlying the shoulders, and the opening movement of the thighs. There, the inner silhouette and modelling are resilient with the relaxed tension of the bodily movement ; for the rest, the movement is a rhythmical pattern composed in planes, the lower a web of diagonal intersections ; these are summed up in the upper plane by the arches of the arms bent with as much sinister ease as the Rākṣasa visages conjure up ; it casts an enduring spell for the huge hands, circular earrings, eyes, face and locks of hair keep it fixed while the ends of the scarves, swinging in the opposite direction, mediate between the vehemence of the demoniac movement of the figures and the stability of the perpendicular network of the window.

The linear pattern of these dancing figures is built up from the base, in triangles and lozenges ; these are crossed over by scythes of arm rhythms. The mighty pliant limbs are pure form, its suggestiveness is communicated also to the dancer's body on the left though it is more descriptive of the shape of the body and has less movement.

This is a mature art, the perfection of the folk art on the earlier temples, and of Baramba ; nothing here is casual, all is conscious discipline ; its substance is the indigenous art tradition of Orissa. The similarly perforated windows of the Paraśurāmeśvar appear as essays in the same direction. Their form however is arrested by the varieties of postures and their rhythms, it halts when shaping their exaltation and presenting their charm. A parallel process covering two centuries, is seen here in two of its relevant stages in Bhuvaneśvar, corresponding to the Quattrocento and Cinquecento in Florence.

Absorption of the Magadhan idiom (8th-10th centuries). The Kapileśvar window marks the moment of supreme achievement of mediaeval indigenous Orissan sculpture. In it had been absorbed the heritage of the Gupta age. It must have been assimilated prior to the earliest of the mediaeval temples now in existence in Orissa. While they were under construction (8th century), Northern Orissa (Utkal) with its Buddhist images emulated those from Magadha ; this was not altogether to its advantage. The cast of the Buddhist images was then also given to those on the Hindu temples. This had its prelude in an assimilation of the iconography of the Buddha image by that of Śiva Lakulīśa, on the

Paraśurāmeśvar temple ; together with some of the iconographic formulae moreover some of the form itself of the Buddhist images was assimilated in the corresponding Lakulīśa image and also other Śiva images of the temple in Baramba.

Reception of central Indian Idiom. (10th-11th century). While the images of the major divinities from now onward show, more often than not, if in a varying degree, an Orissan absorption of the Magadhan idiom, it did not enter into the images of the lesser gods and into the great many carvings all over the temple. The images of the lesser gods subsequently, about the year 1000, had their shapes modified so that some of them resemble the Surasundarīs and Vidyādharaś of central India (Pls. XXI, XXII) in their iconography as much as by their form. Nonetheless they retain their Orissan mood and cast though their appearance has assimilated the sharper accents of central Indian sculpture.

At that phase moreover, from the tenth century, Indian images are form conscious. Their form remains, as it had been from the fourth century, equivalent to immediate spiritual realisation or to the means towards it and, in the latter case, in keeping with prescribed norm. From the tenth century, the degrees of spiritual realisation are given shape with varying delicacy. The subtle body in Indian sculpture had served hitherto as place of realisation. Now it figures as an embodiment of the stages of the approach towards realisation. This shows twofold, in the images. They suggest complex emotions in high tension towards the Spirit who, while leaving them behind, resides in the same place where they are active. In this embodiment made by art the gods are manifest. They have no other tangible body of manifestation.

Now the image is not only the symbol or support of realization ; it is the conscious and concrete shape of the stages towards and of the degrees of realisation. It is conscious in each of its lines and profiles, and not only in its proportions. It is the exact embodiment of the celestial whose name it bears or whose class it represents. These lesser gods but for their bodies made by art—they have no others—would not fully exist. In these mature art forms they exist in all their aspects and degrees of sublimity, grace, wizardry and terror ; each is an exact





counterfeit of the state it represents such as it is known by the devotees in the various provinces of India.

From the metaphysical point of view this amounts to a descent. From the metaphysical point of view, however, an image made by art has its own validity as yantra or means of realisation only.¹ There need, and preferably, there should be no images. From the metaphysical point, however, the correctly made yantra serves its purpose; from the metaphysical point of view of the one who uses the image, if the image made by art is also at the same time a work of immediate intuition this would be a supererogation on the side of the craftsman which does not affect the efficacy of the image as yantra.

While the 'yantra' function is essential to the mediaeval work of art it does not exhaust its nature; on the other hand, as consciously as the purely geometrical yantra is drawn as consciously is the image-yantra now given form. In this lies the virtue of mediaeval Indian sculpture.

The regional differences of the schools are more incisive now than at any other age, for the subtle, the emotional body, is now fully aware of its mode of realisation and its limits. The work of art is made by a kind of intelligible sense awareness; this is channelled by the contingencies of the place, by the 'genius loci'. Together with it the ineluctable process of life ripens the form; the signs of youth, maturity and disintegration are the same everywhere; the age of an art form extends over more than one generation of man, over centuries or millennia, its life obeys cycles whose duration it might not be possible to fix in numbers.

In Orissa, in the eleventh century, the images are fully 'bodied forth' (Pls. XXI-XXIII). In comparison with earlier Orissan sculptures they look like statuary in front of, and barely attached to, the wall. But for exceptions (Pl. XXIII) however the images are stationed parallel

1. The image is put to a similar use as is the geometrical symbol, the yantra. It serves the purpose of realisation; in this respect it is a yantra, a tool. Its nature as a work of art is not identical with this function nor is it exhausted by it as is the 'geometrical' yantra.

A similar mistake, in the opposite direction, has been made in modern architecture. A house if it is a work of architecture is not only a machine (=yantra) serving the purpose to be lived in, it is at the same time a building 'made by art' fulfilling a wider purpose while providing efficiently for its immediate purpose.

to the wall (Pls. XXI-XXII) and their pure contours are outlined against it. They clasp the rotundities of head, body and limbs, their but slightly modified, cylindrical, conical or spherical, shapes. Their modelling is synthetic, the contour steady, without speed, and somewhat blunt. The modelled volumes are compact and suggest the burgeoning of the body. The open smile of the face is its physiognomical expression. Jewelry, garment, flowers and fruits accompany the figures; they are small shapes whose intricate surfaces set off the smoothness of the rounded planes against which they are carved, whether these represent the limbs of tree-goddesses or the stem of the tree (Pl. XXII).

The images of the tree-goddesses, on the Paraśurāmeśvar temple, had been of diminutive size, their number was not conspicuous, they had their place and played their part together with many other symbols. About the year 1000, in Orissa, the images of the tree goddesses and Surasundarīs have increased in size, number and volume. On the walls of the Liṅgarāja temple their images and those of the Śārdūlas are twice as high than those of all the other images. The reliefs of the latter are framed, as they had been on the earlier Orissan temples, by panels replete with manifold carvings.

The large 'statues' of the goddesses and Śārdūlas are accompanied by further elaborations of the temple wall, such as its division into two main zones or storeys of images (Liṅgarāja, Brāhmeśvara) and the attachment of miniature Śikharas, replicas of the main Śikhara, to its ascending buttresses. All these attributes had been fully evolved in central India (Khajurāho) in the tenth century, whence they became incorporated subsequently in the temples of Orissa.

Together with these themes, the mode of sculpture, richer in resolved contrasts, of central India, has its echo in some of the carvings, mainly on the Brāhmeśvar temple, but also in Mayurbhañj, in Khiching (Pl. XXV). Attenuated proportions, angularity of elongated limbs, features and movements are not part of the Orissan tradition but they too have been smoothed and their tapering shapes are as if turned on the wheel while the modelling is more animated and differentiated than in the pure, indigenous form. Nonetheless the Khajurāho carvings and those of the Candella school, as far east as Allahabad, remain distinct from the



relative simplicity of the Orissan form ; Candella images are rich in dramatic contrast ; gyrating around their own axis, they are modelled with a sophisticated elegance, their limbs are pillar-shaped and encased, bent in sharp angles, the sinuous volumes of the bodies and their concavities full of dark shade. The high tension of the sculptural context extends to the curves of their finger tips, to their chimaeric countenances and to extravagantly shaped and poised chignons ; all these are delicate shapes to the point of being brittle ; in Orissa they are fruity, redolent with sap, drowsily ripened in a rustic lyricism and assembled with clarifying leisure. Here all is smooth, assured and smiling ; all complexities seem eliminated or they have become part of the sturdy ease of the images.¹

Two types of scrolls : If they are absent from the images they are present in other parts of the carved walls of the temple, on fillets and bases, pilasters and wall panels which they fill as creepers and curls, Kalpalatā's by their iconographic lineage, a multiform vegetation, mind-born. Their roots are in the realm of thought which possesses what it thinks about, all the wealth of the three worlds. Scrolls and creepers are perennial in Indian sculpture. The undulating stalk and its movement,

1. Certain sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, (see also below) are said to have come from Bhuvaneśvar although they are of the Khajurāho type. The Orissan sculptures are more formal, those of Khajurāho more naturalistic in the modelling of certain parts specially the back, the cheeks, etc. Orissan shapes are more smooth and taut, the movements have greater amplitude, the arms of the figures are held away from the body, parallel to the relief ground. In Khajurāho, the preference is for postures where the body appears to turn around its axis, back and front view are combined, the profiles are oversteered and the whole volume of the figure together with its space is more dramatic with interpenetrating shapes and shadows.

The profiles too, in Khajurāho are more complex, full of tension and conflicts. The vertical shapes are straight pillars with an upsurge ; in Orissa, their shallow curves stay smoothly where they mark the joints. In Khajurāho the sculptural grip is deeper and more firm ; in Orissa the volumes are placid modifications of stereometrical elements.

The Khajurāho physiognomies are full of salient angles ; they are moreover sophisticated ; In Orissa their broad smoothness is more vegetative, lyrical and rustic.

Jewelry and scarves enhance the intricate elegance of the body in Khajurāho sculptures ; in Orissa their simpler, rugged shapes set off by contrast, the firm and smooth bulk of limbs and body.

Despite these differences, certain images of the Candella school are persistently ascribed to Bhuvaneśvar, not only in official Indian publications but also in the Catalogue of the Exhibition of Indian Art, Burlington House, London 1947-48 (Nos. 249, 251, 252).

the wave, are ubiquitous. Up to the second century B. C. its smooth tubular shape, representing the lotus rhizome, sends forth from its knots thinner tubular curves, re-entrant and laden with fruits of all kinds, flowers, jewels and clothes. In Orissa, the stalks branching forth from the knots are of equal thickness, the movement of the wave and its return are equally strong; it carries and encloses flowers, scrollwork and more animals than anywhere in Indian art (Pl. XXIV). But this is not the only kind of scroll. Filling separate panels and also commingling with it, another theme of the wave is profuse with curly shapes, carved straight or obliquely against the ground, full of shade and darkness, agitated, tossed into patterns of further wave and whirl. No gliding stalk carries these curly units (Pl. XXIII).

The lotus rhizome, issued, in principle, and very frequently also in actual design, from the mouth of the Makara, the monster of the deep, is calm with the flux of the sap of life. It engenders and encompasses many shapes, vegetative, animalic and man made (Pl. XXIV). The agitated scrolls do not stem from any stalk, their origin is not in the waters below. As carved on mediaeval temples, they come out of the mouth of the Face of Glory, are its breath, the vapours in the atmosphere, whence life is engendered. Thence they fill the panels of the walls of the temple set up in 'mid-air' (antarikṣa; Pl. XXIII).

The mythology of the upper and the lower waters abounds in Orissa; it accompanies, sets off and surrounds the images with an increasing wealth, in the course of centuries, and attains its climax on the Sun temple of Konarak, in the 13th century. As sculptural theme, the curl cut in oblique and parallel surfaces to the relief ground had been joined with the roundly modelled stalk on door jamb panels of Gupta temples in central India (Deogarh, Bhumara, etc.). Prior to this, the obliquely cut scroll, consisting of 'dot and comma' curves had been employed in Mathura, of about the second century A. D.¹ This type of scroll is at home in Iran, Central Asia and in China,² particularly in metal work³

1. Smith, 'The Jain Stūpa at Mathurā', Pl. LXIX. Fig. 8.

2. Strzygowski, 'Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung' passim.

3. The Tao Tieh, Chinese equivalent of the Face of Glory, millennia prior, on ritual bronzes, to the Kirttimukha in Indian temples, is composed of such scrolls. These then would have come home, in India, to their proper place.



whence probably it retained its obliquely cut surfaces from which the light is reflected in metal work, and the shades lead gradually towards the darkness of the ground of the relief, in other substances. With the invading nomads, these forms spread not only to the West, to Europe, but also to the South, to India, where Mathurā, under the rule of the Kushānas, was a centre of artistic activities. The persistent transformation of this scroll, subsequently, in the art of the Guptas, and its diffusion in Orissa, where it proliferated in centuries to come, may be seen as records of the assimilation of nomadic tradition in mediaeval India. Whoever ethnically were those who executed it, it thrived on the stones of Orissa, releasing in patterns of intricacy an agitation which served as ground and foil to the placid smoothness of the images (Pl. XXIII).¹

Orissa, on the eastern shore of India, has drawn from the storehouse of Indian art, treasures accumulated in it which had come from the North. The scroll and the animal had been one formal concept in the art of the people of the northern steppes ; in Orissa, panels full of scrolls in relief, and finally in relief plane upon relief plane (Konarak) are the frame work or the agitated ground from which stand out the larger images.

The scrolls carry a living memory and are an acute expression at the same time ; the obliquely cut scroll-patterned surfaces are astir with rhythms which are kept at bay as far as the images go. They form however the ground itself against which these are set (Pl. XXIII).

The animal style of Orissa, on the other hand, is indigenous (Pl. XXIV). But its being involved in the scroll—albeit of the purely Indian type—, seems once more a reminiscence of its connection with the agitated, obliquely cut scroll of the nomadic art of the steppes. It is as if the components are singled out and each evolved in a world of its own or associated with other components to which it contributes the climate of its own world. In one of the innumerable panels from the Liṅgarāja (Pl. XXIV, 1) can thus be seen—in its upper part—the 'dot and comma' oblique scroll, associated here with the lotus bloom above

1. The chessboard pattern similarly had found acceptance in Gupta sculpture and plays its part in the subsequent centuries, particularly in Orissa, where its black and white pattern is clear out.

the water;¹ while below, the tubular rhizome ensconces, curve upon curve, animals in couples.

These relief panels, the realm of memory and metamorphosis (Pl. XXIV), are the texture, 'per artem', of the surface of the wall, and they increase from the tenth century in size, wealth and density. Set against them are the large figures, almost carved in the round, yet displayed parallel to the ground (Bhuvaneśvar, Khiching, etc.).

Below this texture of their surface, the walls, from century to century, are charged with increasing power. From the tenth century, in Baramba, their additive orderliness in the vertical and horizontal is subordinated to their major organisation from the centre whence they step forth, each buttress one unit from the base to the crown of its curvilinear Śikhara. Their themes recur in bilateral symmetry on each of the temples. So there are now (Mukteśvar) the corner buttresses with their emphatically horizontal storeys between the Amalaka-clasps; next to them the recess of vertical miniature shrines. The triple buttress in the centre with its lateral and lower buttresses, as well as its maximum projection in the centre are each overcast by its net-work of Gavākṣas. These vertical constituents of the Śikhara rise from their correspondingly articulated vertical projections on the perpendicular temple wall.

Unification in each major part and an enhanced clarity of the total design in plan and elevation, are qualities of the Mukteśvar temple. The design, in turn, of these buttresses, each being elaborated as one unit, contrasting from its neighbouring buttress or recess, appears additive, although on a higher level of integration than the Paraśurāmeśvar type, if seen against the Liṅgarāja. In this temple all the buttresses are assimilated to one another, none is a unit next to the other, all are charged with one movement and carry it in similar shapes, also in their upward 'thrust' and, graded, in their outward impact and progression. This gradation is effected by the depth of projection of the buttress, the central one being flung far out so that a gulf of shadow sets it off from the

1. The 'dot and comma' scroll, obliquely cut, an emblem of the movement of the celestial waters, is generally associated with the Face of Glory; in Orissa however its place is, more often than not, held by the lotus flower.



other buttresses which adhere more closely to the body of the temple, though all of them are the body itself of the temple; their indefinitely large number of stories are but horizontal ripples of its substance, stone striped horizontally like velvet on which the net-work of Gavākṣas has the effect of delicate lace, on the central buttresses so that they appear of one texture;—their increased projection, the deepened recesses of velvety shadows,—the transformation of the temple-walls is not as yet at an end. The buttresses now play their parts sculpturally, they are no longer prismatic offsets but are substantial volumes straight or curved in section or a combination of both, adjacent corner buttresses meeting at a right angle but with rounded edges—an extension of their Amalaka theme—and straight walls on the two adjacent faces. Like clasps, the round corner Amalakas seem to bind together adjacent walls. Then, across a dark recess, the next buttress projects, convex in section, and this roundness is given further accent by the vertical series of miniature half Śikharastrung along its height. These salient roundnesses make the recessed portions appear as if curving in the opposite direction, charged with shadows. At this moment in Orissan architecture, the walls of the Śikhara not only step forth from the centre; they are not only encrusted with carvings; they themselves are a gigantic sculpture of curved planes, swelled by the same sap which seems to course in the limbs of the images; their texture is like velvet, air breathes between the indefinite number of stories which are horizontal ribs, through the whole tower of the temple.

The miniature half Śikharastrung along the intermediate buttresses had found acceptance in Orissa from the more Western schools of Indian mediaeval architecture; as in the images, so also on the body of the temple, the assimilated shapes widened the scope of the indigenous evolution.

From now onward the images and the body of the temple enter yet one more, their closest and ultimate, relation. The images spring forth from the wall, carved in the round, in scale proportionate to the bulk of the building, commingling their silhouettes with its outline. The lions which seem to fly forth from the Śikhara and the Maṇḍapa roof of the Liṅgarāja and more forcibly even, in the Brahmeśvar temple, knit together

these contrasting roof shapes. In Konarak finally, the pyramid of the triple series of receding roofs of the Maṇḍapa is linked vertically by the free standing, colossal, compact images of celestial musicians (Pl. XXVI—XXVII) and the entire temple-pyramid is fastened to the ground, whence its chariot shape is raised, by gigantic groups of horses, Śārdūlas and elephants. These figures anchor the building to the earth, as they connect its stories in midspace. Space here has entered deep not only into the projections and texture of the walls and its images (Pl. XXVIII), but into the concept of this architecture whose limits are more far flung than are its solid walls.

PLATES

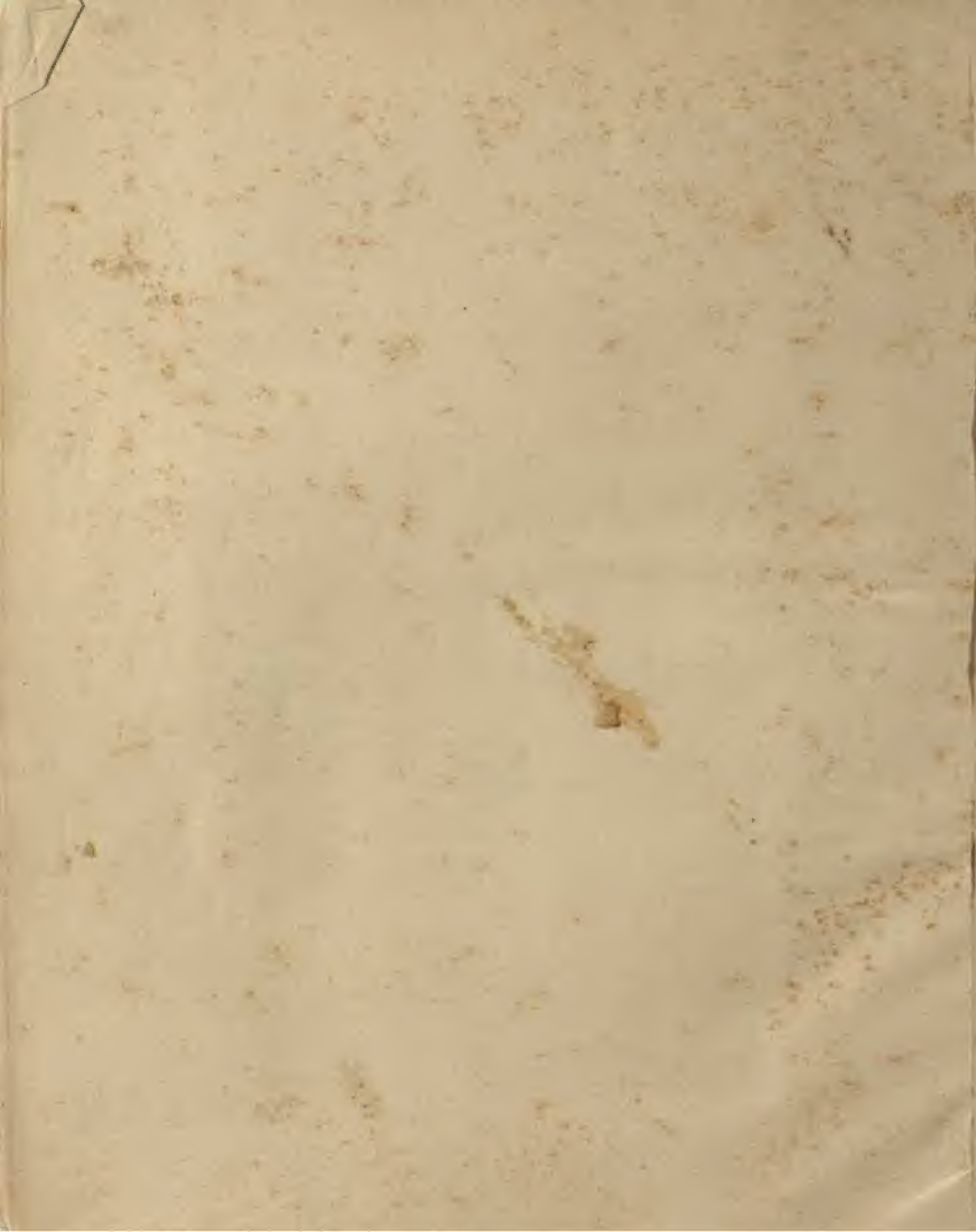
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